#### PHILEMON to HYDASPES:

OR, THE

### HISTORY

OF

#### FALSE RELIGION

IN THE .

EARLIER PAGAN WORLD:

RELATED IN A

SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS.

By HENRY COVENTRY, Efq.

THE THIRD EDITION.



#### LONDON:

Printed for DANIEL BROWNE, at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar.

MDCCLIIL

### PHILEMON ES HYDASPES:

# HISTORY

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EARL OF GOVERNTRY.

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## EARL OF COVENTRY, Vet this in o place of indulys me

left in flich a remembrance. My

prefent Bulinels is with the Author, not with the Man: add of isMyas

TDARE fay I need make no apology for thus addressing to your Lordship the works of a very near relation; a man who did honour to his family, and to human nature. Few people, without power or title, have ever commanded more respect while they lived, or left behind them a more sincere and unaffected concern at their deaths.

But the virtues of a man in a private flation, extending only to

the circle of his own friends and acquaintance, will little interest the world at large: and therefore, whatever pleasure I may find in dwelling on the merits of a person, to whom I have had the greatest obligations, and for whom I shall ever preferve the most affectionate esteem, yet this is no place to indulge myfelf in fuch a remembrance. My present business is with the Author, not with the Man: and as he was pleased on his death-bed to bequeath me the care of his writings; I have here collected them together in a regular volume, which I now offer to your Lordship, and cannot doubt but it will be an acceptable present to the Public. The feveral pieces which compose it, were written at different times, upon a subject uncommon; and as the Author did not live to execute fully his defign, I will beg your Lordship's patience a few minutes, while I attempt some account and explanation of it.

fant objection, or puring an void the tion southe peace and happiness of mankind, always affected him with a very fenfible concern; and having read and thought much upon the subject, he resolved to give the world a biflory of Folle Religion; which he intended to deduce from its birth through all the stages of its progress quite down to the present times. But forefeeing that his work would engage him in some of the abstruser parts of ancient learning, and knowing with what reluctance the generality of readers fit down to any thing that has an air of abstraction, chose to cast it into the form of dialogue; a manner of writing which would allow him tolenliven his narrative, at times, with the vivacity of conversation; and for this purpose he assigned to one of his speakers a more free and sprightly character, who might now and then start a pleafant

fant objection, or purfue a vein of raillery, without degrading from the lignity of the fabject, or impeaching the diriguinals of the Author. There was likewife another reafon which inclined him to write in dialogue, and that was his own cole : for, lengthle that his work would be voluminous, be chose rather to give it to the Public at intervals in a feries of convertations, than in one continued discounte; that so he might paufensbenever his mind required relaration, and return again to his Audies, when leifure from other affairs permitted him. spourts ben se

The design, my Lord, was noble, comprehensive and useful; and his work, as your Lordship sees, would have grown more interesting in every step of its progress. For after having pointed out the more striking abuses of Natural Religion in the Pagan world, when in the course of his subject.

subject he came to examine those of Reverled: and to mark the chiefer charte which lave been ingrafued on Christianity with evident that term ing of times less remote Stom our own and of subjects which are of present and universal importance, he must have engaged the attention of his readers meet strongly, and have found an amples seeps for the extention cities of the extention of th cife, of his genius. But Swhile He was buly in collecting materials for the profesurion of this materials ing. his studies were suspended on a fudden by ill health and after he had firegoled feveral years in vain, as your Lordship knows, with a rooted and investment disorder, the world loft a Man of the most exemplary virtue and an Author of diffinguished abilition of the

However, the death prevented him from bringing his work to a full conclusion, it cannot be faid to be left

left alongsther imperior: and this istoring to the nature of its fabjes. For Millory, unless it the interrupted in the mill of lone important has rationally always perfect as far as it goes and the would be very hard, where any author gives us pleasure, that we always because he did not live to fatisfy entirely our wishes. This would be to retemble the unlappy intain described by Prior, who was so afflicted with regret for the half of Livy which is lost, that he could never find it in his heart to read the other half which remains.

lection, are in a matther independent of the reft, and complete by them felves. It feems as if the Author had a mind to try his hand in these previous essays, before he proceeded to his larger undertaking. The first of them thems, that every man's religion

ligion receives its principal feature or particular cast from the prevailing byas of his natural temper; which is more especially exemplified in the case of a raprurous and extravagant Devotion, arising, as our Austhor suggests, from the amorous warmth of the enthusiast's hearts.

which no has defended

The second piece condemns the austerities, to which many people have submitted themselves on a false. perswasion of religion; as if mortification and unlimited felf-denial in this life were necessary qualifications to obtain happiness in the next! Our Author, on the contrary, proves, by a great variety of arguments, that Pleasure and Virtue are not such inconfistent things as some ill-humoured philosophers have represented them, and that the innocent use of the enjoyments, which God has fo bountifully scattered over the world, is the best and surest way of fulfilling

ling the will of our Greatores In the course of this argument some other points offer themselves localionally to be considered, which he has touched with great elegance; and in the conclusion of this piece, he prepares his reader for the expectation of his greater works.

THE history then of Falle Religion properly opens in the third dialogue, wherein is thewn, that the first and most innocent species of idolatry, which mankind were guilty of, was the worship of the Sun and Moon; whose transcendent majesty and splender are fo calculated to alhere the eye, and to firike the mind with a religious reverence that in was hardly possible for recent, wondering and illiterate montals, to have withflood fo prevailing and universal a temptation in The defire of flying to some superior power for protection is natural to the very beart of man, and gail

and when he had forgot the true Gody what for likely to engage his adoration, as the golden San in fplender likest beaven, according to the language of Milron; and the Moon walking in brightness, according to the language of holy Scripture? These two greater luminaries being thus once deified, mankind ran very fall into all the fublequent infatuations of Sabiism, or idolatry of the bright hoft of heaven. Nor yet contented, but inclining still to a nearer presence of divinity, they came in time to worship terrestrial fire, first in emblem of the sidereal Deities, and afterwards, forgetting it to be a representative, on its own account. From hence the transition was easy to the worship of Spirit or Æther, and in short, to all the successive inlargements of their physical apotheofis, or deification of the parts of Nature. But here our Author gives his reader a caution, not to believe ensthern. a 2'

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Theology were of equal, or mearly equal antiquity; or that many of them were not even of a later date in history, than some parts both of their Heroic and Symbolic worship; altho' for the sake of clearness and dispatch he has given them precedence, and thrown them together into one general view, as parts of an intire system. This is the subject of the third dialogue.

The fourth proceeds, from the consideration of natural theology, to explane the rise and grounds of Heroic and Symbolic worship in Egypt: the one being paid by rude unthinking mortals in their excess of gratitude to departed benefactors; the other being only a consequence of the former, when the appropripriated symbolic animal, like images in the Roman church, grew to usurp the divine honours of its principal, and from a characteristic emblem

came to be confidered as an original and proper divinity. In the course of this conversation some account is given of Hieroglyphical or picture-writing in Egypt, to which the animal apotheofis owed its birth; and likewise of the Metempsychosis; which odd imagination our Author supposes to have arisen, as well as the worship of animals, from the same previous use of hieroglyphic characters. The piece concludes with flightly touching upon the industrious confusion of the natural with the civil part of their theology, when the great masters of Egyptian wisdom, grown ashamed of the birth and exploits of their ancient heroes, invented the mask of physical mythology, to screen the literal doctrine under the pretext of an allegorical interpretation. These are the subjects of the fourth dialogue.

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THE fifth professes to account for the origin of the rite of Sacrifice;

but this being a Subject about which there is a received and established epinion, I chuse to be silent upon it; and shall only observe in general, that it is written with great acumen, and equal to any of the former in the happiness and elegance of its composition.

THUS far our Author had gone in the execution of his extensive plan, and was bufy about a fixth dialogue, when ill health interrupted, and untimely death totally defeated his defigns. The fubject of this next intended piece was the ceremony of Lustrationamong theancients, which would very pertinently have followed the preceding one on the rite of facrifice: but not living to finish it to his satisfaction, he lest absolute orders on his death-bed to have it destroyed, together with all his manuscript papers.

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HAVING thus given a brief account of the Author's intended work, I might now release your Lordship, but that it feems incumbent on me, before I conclude, to take some notice of an invidious reflexion cast upon him in certain late effays, wherein he is called a follower and fervant of my Lord Shaftsbury. The antagonist of the Characteristics, in his second tract on the motives to virtue, confutes that very whimfical doctrine which his Lordship had endeayoured to establish, of a taste in Morals; and having quoted some fentences to his purpose, he adds, " The noble writer hath innumer-" able passages of this kind; so " many that it were labour loft to " transcribe them : and one of his " Followers hath affirmed in still " more emphatical expressions, if " possible, than his Master, that " the height of Virtuosoship is Vir-" tue." These are his Words, and Alguerit oil tadt pro tide bildur left

lest we should mistake the person aimed at in this description, a marginal note refers us to Letters of Philemon to Hydaspes.

at a loss to guess at the motives which could induce this ingenious writer, thus wantonly and unjustly to throw out a sneer against a man, from whom he never received the least provocation; and much more, what could tempt him to make use of such illiberal and plebeian language.

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Did the Essay-writer mean to infinuate, by calling my Lord Shaftsbury his Master, that he had adopted
the notions and principles of that
noble author? I know, from many
intimate conversations with him,
that he entirely disapproved them;
and tho' he had the highest opinion
of his Lordship's genius, learning
and public spirit, yet that he thought
him

him mistaken in most of his religious and moral tenets. This I am able to affirm upon knowledge, and I challenge the Effey-writer to produce a fingle sentence from any part of his works, which shall contradict what is here advanced. The palfage in question, taken separately and alone (a very unfair way of quoting) will yet never answer the end for which it was quoted; but to any one who reads the whole page where it stands, it will appear, that nothing was farther from the writer's thoughts than to fet up a tafte in Morals, as the guide and criterion of virtuous conduct. And if the Essay-writer will examine the fecond dialogue, from whence this half-sentence is salsely quoted, he will find in it expressions as strong and emphatical, for the scheme of interested virtue, as are to be met with even in his own Essay on that subject.

UPON

The Author's own words are, Virtue alone is the truth and perfection of Virtuosoship.

been the whole, making all the allowances which candor requires of me, I cannot help confidering this pallage as a petulant, ill-natured and ungentleman-like represch; nor less impolitie than unprovoked; there being to fair a topic of recrimination upon the author of it: for if ever any writer more remarkably put bimfelf to fervice to another, it is this very Effay-writer, whose Mafter every body knows.

I have nothing more to add, but to beg your Lordship spardon for this long address, and to assure you that I am with all possible respect and esteem, 9 DE 63

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Your Lord shir's

Most obedient Servant,

Francis Coventry.

## PHILEMON

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### HYDASPES:

Dallage as a penitra diameter and

A CONVERSATION with HORTEN-

In which is endeavoured to be shewn,

That the best Key to Men's Religious
CECONOMY is the Observation of
their Natural Temper;

AND

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That every Instance of FALSE CONDUCT in the one, is to be resolved into some corresponding Peculiarity in the other:

With a more particular Application to the Cafe of an Extravegant Divotion.

THE THIRD EDITION.



LONDON:

Printed for DAN, BROWNE, without Temple-Bar, MDCCLIII.

## PHILEMON

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### HYDASPES:

RELATING

A CONVERSATION with HORTEN. sive, upon the Subject of Fall Religion.

In which is endeavoured to be thewn,

That the best Key to Men's Rerierous Office or control of their street on of their street or the street or their street or their street or their street or the street or the street or their street or the street or their street or the str

That every indance of PALSE CONDUCT in the cur, is to be refolved into force coverending.

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### PHILEMON

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## HYDASPES

now least sharing att

AM fure, my Hydaspes, I need no Apology for calling off your Attention a while from the gay pursuits of the Town, to give you some share in those calmer Pleasures in which Hortensius and I have been ingaged since I lest you. You are not of the Number of too many polite People, who know no Entertainment beyond what Crouds and public Scenes can give them; but stepping aside sometimes from the Noise and Hurry of a more exposed Life, can with a much truer Relish of Happiness enjoy yourself or your Friend in private. It is your peculiar Felicity to have united two Characters, which many mistake for Incon-

(2) frene, because to farely Tound together, which Philopher; and the Gentleman, warms 1804 day to hatural to you, that whether Thave attended you in the mixed and farhioustle Societies of the World, or in the relect Take ties of Men of Letters and Erudition, I have never been able to determine whether you have better accommodated yourself & the Pleasantry of the one, of the Severity of the other; for indeed you have been univerfally carefs'd and applied to as the very Life and Spirit of both. I with methinks for the World's fake at leaft, Horteufus had a little more of this happy Popularit of Disposition. Tis pity his great Worth a few particular Friends. It leems a Kind of public Injury in him to conceal the man valuable Qualifications he is Matter of Shade and Obscurity, which ought rather to be made conspicuous for common Benefit. But Hortenfius is inflexibly resolved to purfue his retired Course of living and after all, 'tis a pardonable Fault at leaft, fince it is perhaps the only one to be found in his whole Character, that he is not enough liberal of the good Influences of its and and

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WHEN I went fome time ago out of Town, it was, as you know, to make this excellent Person a Visit. As you have often

often heard me express a more than ordinary pleasure, in his Conversation. I day say you are not without a Curiofity to know upon what Points of any moment it has chiefly turn did during my flay with him.

I month of Evening that I reach d the agreeable Scene of my Friend's Retreat, I found him fitting at the end of a favourine Walk in his Garden, with a Book in his band; and so feemingly intent upon what he was reading, that I had got near enough to speak to him, before he discover'd any thing of me. Upon my calling him by his Name, he rose up in haste, and coming eagerly towards me, embraced me with that natural flow of Good humour, and Openness of Soul, which distinguishes the grauine Sincerity of the Friend, from the counterfeit Complaisance of the mere well-bred Man. As soon as our first interview was over, what grave Moralist (faid 1) Hortensius, were you conversing with just now, who had so ingaged your attention, that you saw nothing of me as I came along the Walk, till I discover'd my self, by speaking to you housed boog and to land.

PERHAPS (returned he) you will not be of opinion my Studies were so very serious, when I tell you it was a piece of English B 2

Poetry

spection of the best profe Writing and Instruction of the best profe Writing

-Ties Diffey on Man (faid) as winak, uto fappole, of forme of the other moral Pieces; of the fame excellent Author fory to lay the tooth, there are very few other modern't Performances in the poetical kind, which I can imagine a Man of your sedate rational turn of thinking would be likely to bestow have seldom risen higher than bare Amusement at the best; pure Description for the most part bolding the place of Sense with the Esay appeard on the behalf of the long injur'd Muses, and undertook to monly thrown upon them by Men of fevel Thought, of being become like too many others of their Sex, little better than agreeable Triflers. He indeed, 'tis on all hands confefs'd, has abundantly re-effablift'd their finking Reputation; has rais'd the facred Name and Office of Poet to its original Credit and Dignity; or in his own beautiful way of expressing it, in account hum

From Sounds to Things, from Fancy to the Heart +. HE 1909 MA 36 10H

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<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Pope's Epiffle to Dr. Arbuthnot, line 148.

((45))

Inchien the Philosophermand, the Post go hand in hand, and you have all the Life and Instruction of the best prose Writing conveyed to you under the additional reconstruction of the most graceful and polished Numbers in Excellent Rostorer of the true postic Character I which one, when well understood it has represented to be of

But a Genius like Mr. Pope's, is one of thole choicer Bounties of Heaven, which are bestow'd only on some few more exalted and favourite Spirits.

them being precording Titer of

HERE Hortenfus interrupted I see (says he) Philemon, you are not yet proof against the Enchantment of this Subject, but are running out into your usual vein of Enthusias upon it for which you know, I have so often rallied you; comparing in some degree the Effect which the sancied Presence of this Great Man has always upon your Mind and Thoughts, to that mysterious Change which is wrought upon the Poet's own in his inspired Moments, when under the propitious Instuence of his

org and Visua invoked

<sup>\*</sup> Hor. de Art. Poet. 334. † Juv. Sat. 14. Lib. 5. v. 34. 35. var.

((26))

invoked Muse, and in the full Eclary of her divine Communications! However, now your are come again to your less, and your delt must well over I will be known in owning to you that it was Mr. Pope's Efforts which I was stidebted for my Entertainment when you enter'd the Garden. I had been reviewing a favourite Pallage of mine there, and was pursuing a Train of Reflexions which that Evening was taken in am of ballaggin ban

PERHAPS (faid I) you will oblige me lo far as to communicate forme there of your Garden-Entertainment to your Friend, and to admit me as a Party with you in these your Evening Meditations: This will be an effectual means to check any farther Sallies of my Enthufiasm, and to reduce me from those irregular Ferments of Imagination you are used to rally the upon, to the fo-berer Exercises of Realoung and Philosophy.

WITH all my heart, (reply d Hortenfius) but the Subject I was upon is pretty Extenfive, and we shall hardly be able to go thro' with it to-night—it will not be long before we shall be call'd in to supper: It will ferve to entertain us fome Morning, whilst you are so good as to stay with me, when we shall have more leisure to purfue it.

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With all modern is pretty Extensive, and we shall hardly be able to go throw with it to-night—it will not be long before we shall be called in to supper: It will serve to entertain us some Morning, while you are so good as to stay with me, while you are so good as to stay with me, while you are so good as to stay with me, while you are so good as to stay with me,

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## PART III

HE next Morning, the Day proving extremely fine, Hortenfius propored to me to have breakfast in the Garden, which I readily came into; and it was accordingly foon after brought to us, in a little retiring Room, which he had built there for the conveniency of avoiding the Interruptions of his domestic Affairs, and of enjoying a freer Air, and more extended Prospect, whenever the Season of the Year, and State of the Weather should invite to fuch a Retreat. It is here he frequently amuses his solitary Hours, and has generally half a dozen of his favourite Authors lying about for that purpose—This was a fair occasion to remind him of the Promise he had made me, of renewing his last Evening Speculation with me at a favorable Opportunity, which I accordingly lost no time to do, as soon as Breakfast was removed——"Twas but (I told him) to give his free Thoughts Voice and Accent; he would, I hoped, be under no restraint upon the account of my being prepresent; especially, as this would not be the first time he had made me so much his felent, as so initiate me into these sacred Mysteries of his Retirement.

SINCE you will needs (Philemon, faid he) bear a part with me in these my solitary Exercises, I will introduce them to you in the same manner as, I told you, I first fell into them my felf, by reading to you a Paffage out of Mr. Pope. But I must first oblige you to this Condition, that you shall not run our any more into general Panegyric upon the Author (of whole superior Merit nothing can give me an higher esteem than I have at present) but confine yourself intirely to the Matter of his Reflexions-Tis here in the third Part of the Effay on Man, where he is describing the first Openings of Religious Truths upon the simpler Ages of the World. Societies, he tells us, were not as yet inlarg'd beyond the Limits of fingle Families: the younger Branches of which look'd no higher in the Chain of Things, than to their Parent, from whose Loins they were more immediately propagated: Efteeming him not as the Substitute of some superior Providence, but as himself the very Fountain-head, from whence their Being, and all the Advantages of it, were ultimately derived to them. Till at length, the fad Experience of this their

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their Parent's Mortality, put them upon inquiring after another, and farther Cauff of all these things: they concluding with great Reason, that he could not be the original Author of Life and Happiness to others, whom they had found fo unable to continue them to bimfelf, beyond the Limits affign'd by some more powerful Superior. Take the Thought in the Poet's own Lan-

guage-Till drooping, fick ning, dying, they began, Whom they rever'd as God, to mourn as Man. Then looking up from Sire to Sire, explor a One great first Father, and that first ador d. Or plain Tradition that this all begun Convey'd unbroken Faith from Sire to Son.

The Workman from the Work distinct was

known. And simple Reason never sought but one. Ere Wit oblique had broke that fleady Light, Man, like bis Maker, Jaw that all was right, To Virtue in the Paths of Pleasure trod, And own'd a Father, when he own'd a God. Love all the Faith, and all th' Allegiance then, For Nature knew no Right divine in Men; No Ill could fear in God: and understood A Sovereign Being, but a Sovereign Good .-

How amiable a Representation this of the divine Being! a Being, whose Worship is Love and Gratitude! Whole Service a

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<sup>\*</sup> Effayon Man, Part III. line 224. state incake quite other th

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State of manly and rational Freedom Whose Sovereignty over us but a more in-larged Power, guided by a never-ceasing Disposition to do us good! A God, whose proper Character is that most indearing one of Father! What a noble Assemblage of tender and affecting Ideas! How different from the too usual Representations of this matter! By a certain way of thinking Philemon, that prevails upon this Subject, one would be tempted to imagine, Men were taught to believe in a Manichean evil God at the Helm of things, instead of a kind and benevolent Principle. They never Teem to conceive of a Deity, as of an affectionate Father to the whole System of rational Beings that hang upon his Care; whose only possible Motive in bringing them into Existence, could be to communicate Happinels to them; and diffule upon them the kindly Influences of his Love and Bounty: But rather paint him to their frighted Imaginations, with all the Pomp and Terror of dreadful and auftere Majesty; a kind of Omnipotent Tyrant at the head of an Universe of Slaves: Who accordingly must pay their Court to him, if they hope to escape his Vengeance, or take any thing of his Favour, by abject Servility, mean Adulation and forced Reverence. Yet Philemon, the Language of unprejudiced Reafon and Nature speaks quite other things

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of a fuprement Manager of There we find secure Post has judiciously observed on the veneign Beingaid and la hovereign Good last equivalent Expressions of Indeed the two des are fo intimately allied to each others that fo long as Mankind retained anything of their first Simplicity and native Ingenuity of Mind, they could hardly be supposed to separate them. For what Thoughts could Creatures newly become conscious to them! felves of imparted Existence and Happil ness entertain of the great Mather of luch immerited Bleffings, but that He must be in himself a Being of the most perfect Benevolence? Nothing but the extremest Perverseness, or worse Ingratitude could prevent their being led from the manifold experience they had of his Goodness, to the thankful acknowledgement of it: Or, as our Author beautifully expresses it, their ownio. admit fuch a more

-190 a Father, when they own'd a God 14

rupting him) I am very much of your Opinion as to the first Rise of Theism in the world, supposing, as you do, that Men were ever left to reason themselves into the Belief of a God by their meer natural Light, without any originally revealed Notices of this kind conveyed from Father to Son in a way of Tradition. For this, you know,

know, feme have afferted to the real Truth of the bear land and tinded the real argress deal may be read a for sthisgoide of the Octobiom of the Post himself Has a Stance of the Pallage you have been reading that to long as Markind retained middle has been retained to the post of t

Or plain Tradition that this all begun, Convey a unbroken Faith from Sire to Son.

However, as I said before, allowing the Teuth of your Hypothesis, and that Revelation had nothing to do in the Affair, I am much more inclined to resolve the Belief of a Deity, as you have done, into a Principle of natural Gratitude, than with Epicurus, and his Followers, into I know not what superficieus Awe and Dread Men are under of invisible Power.

thankful acknowle growers of it: Or, as our AT least (returned Hortenfius) if I was to admit fuch a natural Jealoufy and Apprehension of invisible Power, as these Gentlemen contend for, I should hardly think of making the we they do of it, to disprove the real existence of any such Power an Sure tis an odd way of Reasoning Men out of their Belief of a God, to tell them the Fear of him is natural to them. To For indeed allowing the Paffion to be natural, I should be apt to conclude from the Analogy of all other natural Paffions, that it must have a Foundation in Nature; fome suitable wond! and

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and correspondent Object in the Reality and Constitution of things.

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You know, (faid I) Hortenflus, they pretend to derive this fear and suspicion of Mankind solely from their Ignorance of the Causes of natural Events. So Lucretius, upon the Principles of the Sect, expressly tells us. I see you have the Works of that Poet here, give me seave to turn to the Passage.

Quippe ita Formido mortales continet omnes, Quod multa in Terris fieri, Cocloque tuentus, Quorum operum Cansas nulla ratione videre, Possunt, at fieri divino Numine rentur \*.

And Horace, (you must remember) mentions it as an instance of Philosophical Heroism, which but sew could attain to, to be able to contemplate the Grandeur and Regularity of Nature without a little spice of this popular Superstition.

Hunc Solem, & Stellas, & decedentia certis Tempora Momentis, sunt qui Formidine nulla Imbuti spectent +

But then if the stated and ordinary Course of Nature is so upt to inspire a superstitions. Awe and Reverence, the more extraordinary and unusual Phænomena will have a

Lib. I. v. 152. Vid. etiam Lib. V. v. 1182. Lib. VI. v. 49 to 56. + Hor. Epift. Lib. I. Epift. VI. v. 4.

much stronger effect this way. For besides that the mere circumstance of their
being uncommon has a more obvious tendency to beget surprise, many of them may
be said to have, as it were, something of
natural Pomp, and Terrar even in themselves.
As for instance, Thundrings, Lightnings,
various kinds of Meteors, Earthquakes,
&c. agreeably to the Observation of another Poet of the Epicurean Persuasion.

Primus in Orbe Deos fecit timor, ardua cælo Fulmina cum cæderent, discussaque mænia Flammis,

Atque Iclus flagraret Athos

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And so Horace intimates a particular aptness in Thunder to strike Men with religious Impressions.

Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem Regnare—+

And Lucan, I remember, almost in the fame words

Sciret adduc folum cale regnare tonantem | .

Now with a View to the eradicating these popular Superstitions, and to the freeing Men from the slavery of those religious Fears which their ignorance of the Causes

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Pet. Arb. Frag. Sat. p. 524. ed. Mich. Had.

<sup>+</sup> Her. Odarum Lib. HI. Ode 5.

<sup>|</sup> Lucan, Lib. III. Phar. v. 319, 320. var.

and proceedure of natural Events had subjected them to; Epicurus, as his Interpreter and great Panegytist Lucretius informs us, undertook to instruct them in a more accurate knowledge of Nature: to explain to them her several Phanomena, and give a Physical Solution of her various operations upon no bigher a Principle than mere Matter in motion. Hear how the Poet panegyrizes his Master upon this noble and generous Enterprize. Speaking of that abject State of Mind to which superstition had reduced Men, Epicurus, he tells us, was the first who durst openly attack the slavish Imposture.

Primum Graius bomo mortales tollere contra Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra: Quem nec Fama Deum, nec Fulmina, nec minitanti

Murmure compressit cælum; sed eo magis

Virtutem inritât animi, confringere ut arcta. Natura primus portarum claustra cupiret

He hoped, it seems, by penetrating into the intimate Reasons of Things, to give a compleat Key to the several Productions of Nature; and that the notion of a superintending Deity would be effectually banish'd out of the world, if he could but persuade Men to admit that the Course of Affairs

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<sup>\*</sup> Luc. Lib. I. 67.

might go on as face sfully without his concustomer. And after the Poet in the three
following himes has led his Philosophical
Here three the whole compass of Nature,
he goes on to represent him returning in
a kind of mumph from the success of his
wonderful Discoveries; holding out, as it
were, to view a Rationale of the Universe,
and adjusting the full Powers and Extent
of natural Mechanism.

Unde refert nobis Victor quid possit oriri,

AND yet (interrupted Hortenfius) after all this pompous parade of Science, what is the Philosophy of this his boasted Epicurus, even according to his own account of it, but a continued Series of Blunder and Absurdity?

THAT is true (said I) but the Poet has certainly embellished his philosophical Romance with numberless beautiful Turns of Thought, and an uncommon Strength and Majesty of Stile and Expression.

An excellent Poet return'd Hortenfius) but a wretched Bungler in Reasoning! For not to descend to the minuter Branches of this Epicurean System, what is the general Foundation which it proceeds upon, the

\* Lib. I. v. 76.

Eternity of Matter in motion, but a more gratis diction? A Notion obstinately telest up against the insteadible Reason and Trusts of Things? I do not design to content late a particular Confutation of it, but shall only observe, that the Idea of Self-emplence is not only incompatible with several known Properties of Matter, but repugnant to the graneral Nature of it. And yet it we should allow Matter to have been Eternal, we could not admit it to have been eternally in Motion; for that would be to make Metion to be of the Essence of Matter, contrary to plain Evidences of Fact and Experience & of the Essence of Matter, contrary to plain Evidences of Fact and Experience & of the Essence of Matter, contrary to plain Evidences of Fact and Experience & of the Essence of Matter, contrary to plain Evidences of Fact and Experience & of the Essence of Matter, contrary to plain Evidences of Fact and Experience & of the Essence of the Essence of Matter, contrary to plain Evidences of Fact and Experience & of the Essence o

So that had the Epicurean Philasophy succeeded never so well in the Explication of Nature from these Principles, yet the Principles themselves can never pass upon Men of Thought and just Restection without much better Proofs than a bare Insert. This is an Error at the first setting out, sufficient to blast the whole Scheme at once. Seriously, Philemon, one cannot enough wonder at the extreme Folly of all such Schemists as pretend to account for

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into the Nat. of the Hum. Soul at large.

† Newtoni Optice. Qu. alt. p. 341, 343. Gurdon's Serm. pag. 169, &c. Bentley's Boyle's Leat. Serm. 71 things

See Dr. Clarke's Boing and Attrib. p. 22. &c. Gurdone's Boyle's Lett. Serm. 4. Relig. of Nature delin. p. 76, 77. Bentl. Boyle's Lett. Serm. 6. Adda to Law's Notes on King's Orig. Evil, p. 13. Banter's Inquiry imo the Nat. of the Hum. Soul at large.

things upon Principles of Mechanifm, when the Origin of that Mechanism ittell, open their Llypothelis, is a greater Difficulty, than any of these it is introduced to explain in For deduce one thing from another ever to long in a merbanical Series, without running up to a first Mover, what do you burnepeat the old exploded Conceit of the Elephant, and the Torcoife? All mechanical Solutions of natural Events, the never to just as far as they go, yet leave us at laft in as great Ignorance as they found is salt may be we are got ton fecond or third Remove, and have shifted the Difficulty from the Elephone to the Tartoife. But that fatal Question recurring at every men, som and the Tortoife must ever stop us in our progress, till we have placed forme bamaterial, Intelligent, Self-active Principle at the beat of Mairs. Our great Theorift, the admirable Sir Ifaac Newton, a much better Philosopher, T do not fay meetly, whan Epicurus, or Lucretius, or any of the more modern Retailers of their Blunders; but even than any of the most celebrated ones, whether of ancient or modern Times; he, I say, was well aware of this Truth, and has born full Testimony to it. For the' he had abundantly confirmed and established his Principle of univerfal Gravity upon the Authority of well-try'd Facts and Experiments, and afterwards applied it with an-

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faverable Success to the Theory and Expli--cation doft the Mundane visyftem yet abe hever confiders it belierwise than as a Fadle, of which be owns at the fame time the Caule to be wholly unknown to him . And for far is he from thinking, to that because bthis Brindiple may ferve to account for buber behings, therefore it needs no account to be given of itself, that on the contrary, like gives bints + of fome accounts he had been endeavouring to form to himself of it; and finding none of them answer his purpose, concludes at last, with resolving it into a divine Energyand Superintendence, as feeing it utterly direconcileable with any natural vor mechanical Principles f. sno o an a snott with our particulard even flance of it. the

So that upon the whole, the falle Triumphs of the Epicureans upon this Article of hhtural Causes amount at last to a public Te-Aimony against themselves; and under la pretence of proclaiming their Victory, do but more effectually confirm their intire vorthrow and defeat. For whilft, with a defignto explode the Belief of a God, they have gone about to explain Nature without him, the ill Success they have met with in their b

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concerned in its Concevance. And there

Opt. p. 374.

+ Optics, p. 350, and elsewhere.

Newtoni Optice, p. 373. Prin. Phil. Schol. gen. fab finem, p. 344. 'p 182 to 189

Attempt, is to them at leaft a very convincing proof bow impracticable fuch an Explication really is ... And thus by pretending to undermine a popular Superfritionabout a Deity, they have laid the Ground and Foundation of a rational Perfusion of bink; and the war jost enough of the Dature and Powers of fecond Causes to establish beyond all possible doubt the Necessity and Reality wines water of the accounts helful adon differenceing to, joint to himfelfinet its, and

sto Bur this is wandering too far from our prefent purpofez di Inam mot 1 (you know) undertaking to detect and expose every Brror and Inconfiftency in the Epicurean Syftem; my Quartel at prefent being only with one particular Circumstance of it, the refolving the Belief of a fuperintending Deity into a Principle of Fear. And this, as I said, seems to me a very unnatural 80lution of this Matter. For allowing the general Conflitution of Nature to proclaim never fo loudly the infinite Power of its almighty Architect, yet the manifold traces of kind and good intention \* which tun bvery where thro' it, do at least as strongly evidence an infinite Goodness to have been concerned in its Contrivance. And therefore, supposing Men to be never so sensible

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See this Sentiment finely enlarged upon in Hutch. Nat. and Cond. of the Paffions; p. 180, 181. See also p. 182, to 189. Attempt.

of the Pener of their Maker, yet they mult at the same time discern it to be a Pour guided and directed by a Principle of Kindness and Benevolence towards them, and consequently an Object of Hipse and Confidence, much rather than of France or Districtionale, Who sees not that a great part of Nature minuters directly to our Uses A much greater to our Pleasure and Entereptiement . If some few particulars have a different Aspect, still the Balance upon comparison turns evidently in our savair and a few contrary Instances nather confirm than weaken a general Rule. Besides, that these seconds natural Evid plan a more accurate inquiry into Nature, appear to have, even in themselves, a beneficial Tendency upon the most, or at least to be the necessary Consequences.

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This Thought is very heautifully pursued in the street, vol. V. No. 387. The following Pallage is To appoint to our purpose, that I cannot forbear wanterising it—To confider farther this double End in the Works of Nature, and how they are at the same time both nieful, and intertaining, we had the most important Parts in the vegetable World are those which are the most beautiful. These are the Scrats by which the several Races of Plants are propagated and continued, and which are always lodged in Flowers, or Blosson. Nature seems to hide her principal Defign, and to be industrious in making the Earth pay, and delightful, whilst she is carrying on her event Work, and intent upon her own Preservation. P. 274, 375. See also No. 393

form general Principles that evidently

As to what you was observing. (Pintermon) that some of the more extraordinary Appearances in Nature have a kind of natural Terror in them, it may, I think, be pullly questioned whether Gault or Supersition have not been the chief Causes of this. At least, even by your own account, the instances of this kind are unusual and extraordinary, and therefore not to be regarded in a general Estimate. Whereas, on the contrary, the ordinary stated Course of things is calculated to excite in us a perpetual Train of pleasing and agreeable Seniations, To go no farther than a familiar Instance.

Ste Archbilhop King, of the Origin of Evil, translated by Low, with the Translator's excellent Notes—Rel. of Nat. delin. under the Art. of part. Proc.

Essay on Man, 4. 109.—The Frame of Nature seems, as fat as we know, plainly contrived for the good of the Whole; and the casual Evils seem the necessary Garmatians of some Mechanism, designed for vastly prepollent Good.—Hutch, Inquiry, p. 275.—This Principle, established with full Evidence by the Writers here referred to, and others that might be added, in many instances, and which is therefore by the argument of Analogy made something more than probable in all: (since Nature, on the Anthor of Nature, must be supposed considered with himself) strikes at the very soundation of the Manichem Scheme, and turns the whole sorce of its Artislery upon it selfs a Gircumstance that deserves to be taken notice of, as pointing out the wretched Weakness of its Gause, which has not now, I would hope, many serious Abettors is 3

I have often been particularly pleased with the Observation of an ingenious Writer, the a fine Day is a kind of Jensual Pleasure " For my own part I always find it fo. Tis then that Nature unfolds all her brightest Charms to view, and opens, as it were, h whole Store-house of Bleffings. The inj mitable Beauty, Extent, and Variety of natural Prospects, the Verdure of the Fields and Meadows, the agreeable Fragrancy of the Air, the Lustre, Mildness, and Benignity of the Heavens; in a word, the subole Scene about us wonderfully co-operates to our Enjoyment +. The World seems made for our peculiar Gratification; our Spirits are chear'd and enliven'd, our Imaginations warm'd and entertain'd, our rational Eaculties invigorated and exercised. The whole Man overflows, as it were, with Delight and Complacency. In this agreeable Conscionsness, how does every anxious and disquieting Thought vanish! How open is the Soul to every grateful, affectionate, and devout

Sir W. Temple, vol. I. fol. 273. Spectator, vol. V. No. 387. The Sun, which is as the great Soul of the Universe, and produces all the Necessaries of Life, has a particular Influence in chearing the Mind of Man, and making the Heart glad.

† Providence has imprinted fo many Smiles on Nature, that it is impossible for a Mind which is not funk in more gross and sensual Delights, to take a Survey of them without several fecret Sensations of Pleasure, Spect. vol. V. No. 393.

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Bentiment, towards the great Author of its Happiness! With what a generous Indignation does it reject every unworthy Apprehension of so transcendently kind and excellent a Nature! How foreign the least Suspicion of Evil, from a Being of such experienced Bounty and Beneficence!

PHESE (Philemon) are obvious Reflexions; were I disposed to be more abstracted and philosophical, I might go on to observe that the very Notion of Power itself, that Bugbear in the Epicurean System (as indeed what will not Guilt and Folly make fuch?) if we will but purfue it in its just extent, implies and leads on to Goodnefi. Let us confider a little-If we look into surfelves, and examine the State of our own Hearts (a Practice furely very necessary, before we ascend, as a celebrated Author expresses it \*, into the higher Regions of Divinity) shall we not easily discern, that Malice is nothing else but Weakness, Defect, and Impotency +? Should it not therefore teem

\* Charatteriflicks, vol. I. page 41.

t The obvious Frame of the World gives us Ideas of boundless Wisdom, and Power in its Author; such a Being we cannot conceive Indigent; and must conclude happy, and in the best state possible, since he can still gratify himself: the best state of rational Agents, and their greatest, and most worthy Happiness, we are necessarily led to imagine must consist in universal estimations Benevolence; and hence we conclude the Deity Benevolence

feem to be as necessarily excluded from an independent, and self-sufficient Principle, as Darkness is from Light \*? " There is an odd " way of Reasoning, says the Author just " now referred to +, but in certain Diftempers of Mind very fovereign to fuch as can apply it; there can be no Malice but " where there is an Opposition of Interests; " an Universal, Independent Being can " have no Interests opposed, and therefore " no Malice." | So wifely did the Poet characterise his forereign Being, a sovereign finite, Manue is Thenkney acidotened to ancial

Bur may there not be conceived fuch a thing, (faid I) Hortenfius, as difinterested Malice? and abstracting all Arguments from present Facts, might not an infinite, ly powerful Being be at the same time an infinitely evil one? The same warmen yidh

Benevolent, in the most universal, impartial manner. Hutch. Inquiry, p. ult. tereffs of a samplere

\* This way of thinking is much the fame with that of the ingenious Translator of Archbishop King, and other Writers, who derive the moral Attributes of the Deity by way of Consequence from his natural ones.

Charact. vol. I. p. 39. pudintA sleet encount It is scarce necessary just to hint here, that this Notion will not, as has been sometimes injuriously charged upon it by the Enemies of this Author, destroy all right of Punishment in the Deity towards any immoral Agent, fince Punishments may end in the final Benefit of fuch Agent; and then they are not the effects of Malice, but Goodness. in words THE as would make them

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THE Notion (returned he, with some warmth,) is as full of Contradiction and Absurdity as it is of Horror \*.

But how think you, (said I) as to our own Species? does not History furnish us with some Characters thoroughly and deliberately evil and malicious?

## Contil German

\* If all Malice be, as is here afferted, Weakness, infinite Malice is Weakness heightened to an infinite Degree, that is, an infinite Privation, an infinite Nothing. This Point may deferve a more particular illustration, which it will admit of several ways; as thus-It may be that all Malice is attended with some Degree of Pain, and confequently, infinite Malevolence must be attended with an infinite Degree of Pain; that is, must be infinitely inconsistent with infinite Power. Again, an infinitely malevolent Deity could not postfibly communicate any Degree of Power or Knowledge to any Creature, in as much as, it should feem, Power and Knowledge are in their own nature good; now to impart any Degree of Good is against the Interests of a completely malicious Agent. But on the other hand, to deny that any Degrees of Knowledge and Power are actually communicated, is against all evidence of Fact and Experience. And indeed were we to abridge the supreme Being of any Power to communicate these Attributes, it would be making such inroads upon his Omnipotence, as would render his supposed Malevolence as contemptibly weak, as it is in every view shockingly detestable. Or lastly, should it be faid, that infinite Malevolence is still at full liberty to communicate both Knowledge and Power to it's Creatures, for that an artful Malice might early throw in along with these such imbittering Ingredients; as would make them a Punishment instead of

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THE A Englephed he) the incomparably ingerifous Mi? Hutchefon has gome to great way towards proving that Human Nature admits not so detestable a Principle as a fettled difererested Maltoe; and that those Actions which have the work afpeal this way, are to be refolved only into the inner gular and mistaken Application of some justifiable Affection +. However, allowing there might be fome monstrous Productions in the moral World, as well as there are in the natural, yet there is a common Standard of true Formation in both: and whatever may be faid of Particulars, the gentral Constitution of Human Nature is plainly a Benevolent one. And hence again vifes well appear in Atlant (to he par

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a Bleffing; I add yet farther, infinite Malevolence cannot produce even Misery itself to any Degree that will answer its purposes: because universal unlimited Misery cannot take place without universal unlimited Malevolence being introduced first: and that once supposed in any System, it immediately becomes Relo de se, self-destructive, and an impossible case. A System of Beings universally and absolutely malevolent can no more subsist together, than a Set of absolutely repelling Particles can form a World. Once more, it may be just intimated, that it is of the nature of Evil, as such, to destroy inself; which makes a persect malevolent Scheme, if one may use such an Expression, necessarily impracticable.

&c. passimilar & and Conduct of the Passions. Inquity,

Malice, when it is really only the overgrowth of a just

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rises a farther very convincing Argument for the great Truth we are contending for; since a Being, not himself the most difinterestedly Benevolent, would never of his own free motion have given such a benevolent Biass to a whole Species of his Creatures, as should in a manner necessarily ingage them in Offices of mutual kindness and indearment; and which is so deeply rooted in their very Make and Constitution, that Humanity, a Term expressive of it's influence, is by common Language appropriated to the peculiar Distinction of the Kind .

may well appeal in this Affair (so he par-

Matural Affection, upon false Opinions, or consused Ideas, Hutch: Inquiry, p. 99.—Human Nature seems scarce capable of malicious, disinterested Hatred, or a sedate Delight in the Misery of others, &c. Hutch. Inquiry, p. 132, 133, 134.—It is very probable that there is no such Degree of Wickedness in Human Nature, as, in cold Blood, to be pleas'd with the Misery of others, when it is conceived to be no way useful to our Interests, &c. Ibid p. 157, to 159, & passim.—This partial Imagination of some good moral Qualities in Actions which have many cruel, inhuman, and dessirable Consequences towards others, is what has kept Vice more in countenance than any other Consideration. Ibid. p. 228. Vide etiam Nature and Conduct of the Passions, p. 104, 138, to 141, & passim.

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\* It is not material to our purpose here, whether these benevolont Affections be supposed, as some would have it, innate; or, as others, only naturally acquired.

Either

tially address'd himself to me) who have so often made the Experiment; as the having these benevolent Affections is the very Badge and Character of our Nature, so from the cherishing, and improving these natural Seeds of Virtue, results the Perfection and Happiness of it. The highest and most exquisite Pleasures we are at any time confcious of, arise from a Sense of our having acted in consequence of kind, and good Affection. Whenever we do so, we feel a fecret Joy and Transport diffusing itself thro' our Breasts; and the State of our Souls, like that of a well-tun'd Instrument,

Either way, this Reasoning is equally conclusive. This moral Sense, implanted in rational Agents, to delight in, and admire whatever Actions flow from a study of the good of others, is one of the strongest Evidences of Goodness in the Author of Nature. Inquiry, p. 275. Would we allow room to our Invention. to conceive what Constitutions of Senses or Affections à malicious powerful Being might have formed, we should foon fee how few Evidences there are for any fuch Apprehension concerning the Author of this World. Human Society might have been made as ungaly to us as the Company of Enemies, and yet a perpetual more violent Motive of Fear might have forced us to bear it. Malice, Rancour, Distrust, might have been our natural Temper. Our Honor and Salf Approbation might have depended upon Injuries; and the Torments of others might have been made our Delight, which yet we could not have enjoy'd thro perpetual Fear. Many such Contrivances we may easily conceive, whereby an evil Mind could have gratified his Malice by our Mifery: but how unlike, &c? Nat. and Cond. p. 180, 181.

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is all over Harmony, Sweetness, and Composure. Now what is this but the filent Testimony of our own Hearts that we are then in the best, the most perfect state of Being, of which our Nature is made capable? And shall we (Philemon) refuse that to the Creator, which we own and feel to be the highest Excellency, Perfection, and Ennoblement of the Creature? Or shall we not rather acknowledge, that as it is the stronger or weaker state of this benevolent Principle in ourselves that varies the several Degrees of Worth and Esteem amongst Men, so it is the intire prevalency, and unallayed Perfection of it in the Supreme Being, that constitutes a truly divine Chanacter, gives Grace and Lustre to every other of his Attributes, and makes Deity itself properly God-like?

It is upon these grounds (said I) as I suppose, that the noble Author, you have more than once hinted at, makes it a Question, "Whether any thing besides Ill." Humour can be the cause of Atheism ?" There is something so comfortable, so every way agreeable to the Interests of Mankind in general, and of each individual Man in particular, in the notion of a common Parent, and sovereign Protector of the Uni-

Charact. vol. I. p. 23. Worland wolld ino vo

would be tempted to wish there might be a God, even the should not be able to prove there was one. His Affections would evidently lean this way, whatever might be the Decision of his Judgment in the Gase. And therefore it must argue a very high Degree of Perverseness and Depravity; a State of the most invenom'd Spleen and Moroseness, to stand out against so sale tary a Truth, in the midst of that abundant Evidence with which it is at present surrounded.

AND yet (replied Hortensius) as lovely and beneficial as the Notion of a superintending Deity is in itself, the same noble
Author will tell you, that, (unhappily for
the World!) it has been so disguised and
tampered with, "that as Religion stands
"amongst us, there are many good People
"who would be easier in their minds if they
"were assured they had only mere Chance to
"trust to: Who rather tremble to think
"there should be a God, than that there
"should not be one "."

A fad State of Things indeed (returned I) when Men entertain such hard Thoughts of a supreme Manager, as would almost drive them, if they durst, to take

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<sup>\*</sup> Charact. vol. I. p. 40.

fortable Opinion! Wature as the more com-

WRETCHED enough! (resumed Horstensius) but 'tis an evil for which there can be no Remedy, 'till Men can be prevailed upon to listen more to Reason in their Religion, than, as their too general practice is at present, to the Suggestions of natural Temper. For this, Philemon, is the very ease in the Instance we are complaining of Men of dark and gloomy Complexions invent a Deity, like themselves, full of Spleen, Sourness, and Severity. They bring their In Humour with them into their Religion,

This is the peculiar Unhappiness of Superflition. that it cannot choose but disapprove and inwardly with against, what yet it is obliged to reverence. Odit, dim metuit, is the real truth of its case. This made the fudicious Plutarch give the preference to Atheifing as being at least the more open and manly, I had almost said, the more religious persuasion of the two; it being rather a higher infult upon the supreme Being to with against his Existence, than simply to disbelieve it. our sielas Sief iras & ales, & de dudidatuir & Bellar Wirtuit de anur, arobaret yag poseilat. xailot ye wonig & Tar-דמאם בישואל דפי אושני לימושפטעוים, פרש אמו פרם ידסי סספסין ώς σα ηθοι ύσ αθε σιεζομενο, αγαπησειεν αν, και μακαρισειά THE THE ABOUT SEPTIONS, DE ANTHERINE And thus he excellently fums up the matter - our de to per abin dividus poring wher pleger, & de describanter en togoargeore alis er, uddinitige ismi, it to dotalin wigi dien & Bedarmi De Supi p. 170. Ed. Kyli mod swith fromts

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and from the actual Feeling of these evil Dispositions in their own Breasts, are led to make them the Characters of their Disposition in many the characters of their Disposition with the characters of the charac

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THAT was measuring (I said) by a very partial and false Standard; and one could not wonder at any Errors they sell into, who set out with no better a Guide.

As irrational a Proceedure (replied he) as you may esteem it to be, believe me, 'tis a very common one. Seriously, Philemon, to one who has not well and often confidered this Subject, tis scarce possible to imagine how large a Part of what most People miscall Religion, is but the prevailing Biass of their natural Disposition, screening itself under that Jacred Character, and Appearance. And the Misfortune is the greater, as 'tis hardly possible to undeceive them. Errors in Religion, when once thoroughly imbibed, are the most stubborn things in Nature. Nothing is fo inflexible as Conscience, when once it is fet wrong. It darkens the mind to fuch a fatal degree, that Conviction comes to be dreaded as a Crime, and even Blinaness itself is esteemed sacred. If you go about to shew these deluded People to themselves, they cannot endure the pain of the Representation. They have been

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so long used to confound their own Practifications about Religion with Religion itself, that if you do but touch them in those tender Points, immediately they raise a cry and an alarm against you, as if you was erazing the very Foundations of all Religion, and common Morality. And it were to be with'd, there were not some wiser heads, who tho' they have discernment enough to see thro' the Cheat, can yet bring themselves for interest sake to countenance it, and artfully endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude, the better to instantially endeavour to support and keep up a false Conscience in the deluded Multitude endeavour to support and the support and th

I HAVE never (faid I, interrupting Hortenfius) been used to consider this matter in the light you have now placed it in I wish you would enlarge a little upon it. It promises a good insight into the various Turns of religious Characters; a Point, I must own, I have always been at a loss to account for to myself. For Religion is doubtless in it's own Nature simple and uniform; and as it is a Rule of Action equally respecting all Men, must be such an one as is fuited to the general State and Condition of all Men. But view it in the feveral Parties that make equal Profession. of it, in some it shall seem to consist wholly

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wholly in a recluse and abstracted Departure altogether shoompatible with the Duties of forial Life; in others in a frequent and ohe relenting exercise of Self-Difcipline and And ferrisy, as intirely inconfificult with all Reich and Enjoyment of private Life 109A third fort shall lay all the stress upon holding a particular Set of Opinions, qwith a fierce Zeal against all who happen to diff fer from them; a Notion this, again, to repugnant to the very Nature of focial Beings, that it has in fact done more than any other towards eradicating in feveral Instances the very focial Instinct out of Men's Hearts, and turn'd them loose up on one another to act fome of the blackes Tragedies in History, as it is even at this

Virtue) are some partial Admirations of this Desire (of Virtue) are some partial Admirations of certain moral Species, such as Propagation of true Religion, Zeal for a Party; whilst other Virtues are overlook'd and the very End to which the admired Qualities are subservient is sorgotten. Nat. and Cond. p. 38. This (viz. false Opinions of the Will and Laws of the Deity) is substitutions, Murders, Devastations, of Kingdoms, from a lense of Virtue and Duty, that it is needless to mention particular Instances. Inq. p. 190. Persecution appears to the Agent a Zeal for the Truth, and for the eternal Happiness of Men, which Heretics oppose. In such Instances Men act upon very narrow Systems form a by soulch Opinions. It is not a Delight in the Misery of others, or Malice, which occasions the horrid Crimes which sill our Histories; but generally an installing unreasonable Enthusias for some fort of limited Virtue. Itid. p. 189.

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Infanta forbene Adoing inulance Biguted Countries of here are others who are forus pulously enaction all the outward Corone nide of Religion, at the same time that they are neglecting Duties of much bigher Importance in Life, upon the account of fushdan enternal Compliance of Others an gain, uplace all Sanctity in a contracted Bring and a morose Behaviour in reprove ing your for any little Levities of deport ment, without any regard to Times, or Places or Persons, as if the want of Spin rit, on Politenefs, or Discretion, was any part of religious Obligation; or the four ing and speiding Company, instead of ins proving or entertaining it, could be a Duty upon Creatures evidently formed and dev figned for all the Benefits of mutual Converse and Friendly Intercourse and Spiniv

Ms An while (interrupted Hortenfus) amidst all these Extravagancies and Inconsistencies of its deluded Votaries, Religion itself is quite another thing from what any of them mistake for it. It is a liberal, manly, rational, and social Institution; and such as, consider d in its own genuine tendency, is calculated as well to promote our common Interest and Happiness in the present Life, as it is to fit us for that better state of Being which is promised as its reward in the future, "Tis such a service as is worthy

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Object of it, to enjoin, and of the reasonable Nature of Man, the Subject of it, to perform I will explain to you the whole Server of these manifold Inconsistencies.

- You, Philemon (continued he) are foo well acquainted with human Nature, not to fee how infinitely the fame Passions which belong in the gross to the whole Species are divertified in each Individual of it. Every Man has his particular ruling Paffion; different in some respect or other from that of every other Man living. "Tis a great miltake to imagine even his Religion itself is wholly privileged from the Influence of this Master Principle. Whatever the Advocates of severe Mortification may fay of the Neceffity of subduing our reigning Passion, I have feldom observed any one so successful in this Self-Conflict as to come off with a compleat Victory. Religion itself is generally to far from controuling this Mafter Passion, that it even takes its own Turn and Denomination from it. At the utmost, it only diverts it from one Channel to another, varying the Inflances perhaps, but not at all the Degree of its Indulgence. I could illustrate this Remark by numberless Examples-You know the general Character of Sebastius,

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HE is certainly (faid I) a Man of great Parts and Genius, but he has unfortunatedly taken a wrong Turn. He is in a great measure lost to the World in a Recluse Monastic Life; and his natural Good Sense by having been unhappily misapplied, does but add new Fuel to his Distemper, and establish him in a more confirm'd State of Enthusias.

DID you never hear, (said Hortensius) how he first fell into this Religious Madness? An old Acquaintance of his has told me, that the he was always a Man of a grave regular Disposition, even in his youngest days, yet he did not take this Recluse Turn till after a Disappointment he met with in Lave.

How (said I, interrupting him, with some surprize) Was he then ever in Love? He is the last Man in the World I should have suspected to have been of an amorous Disposition.

YET (replied he) his present Turn of Character, which you, I suppose, look upon as an Argument of the contrary, gives me the strongest proof and conviction of it imaginable.

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Twas sidiculous (Leonid notified interpology) to suppose the strike where any hold upon him where all over Morojeness and Separate.

plied he) does but confirm me the policy in the Opinion I have of him. The Circumstance you have last mentioned, in four tigular, evidences beyond all others the Strength of his Attachment to his beloved Object. Can any thing shew a greater Extravagancy of Passion, than to see him last to the last of his captivated affection, and of the last of his last wonder (I observed the bitm) where this last wonder (I observed the bitm) was successful.

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any more than that of Motion to particular Bolion in one part, as much as it lose in another. Milcel, p. 296.

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more indebted for Converts to the Quarter of disappointed Love, than to any other whatfoever. Affectionate Language multiplettle somewhere of their had not the expected Return of their had not the Expression might not be especially too bold. I would add, to solve the Deity with as much Warmth, and in a great degree of the same kinds as they are degree of the same kinds as they are

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St. Aufin is by no means a lingle Infrance of a terormed Debaychee becoming a very eminent nevo-tionalit! magna ex parte augus vellements. Contionalit! magna ex parte augus vellements. Contionalit. In the excruciabat, is his own Account of hundelf in the beginning of Life, (Conf. lib. 6. cap. 12. And if we examine him after his Convertion, we had not perhaps find him fo very different at Man, as may be imagined at first thought. Destendat Domine, descendat precor, descendat in cor meum odor tur havistimus, ingredietur amor tur mellinus. Vennat mihi tui saporis mira & inenarrabilis sagrantia que sempiternas in mo suscitet concupile entre. And dewhere, amplectar te sponse exclessis, amplectar te hous, fine quo minil bonum, fruar te optimo, sina quo minil optimium, and again, properatio in dorder, quie amore languen. Quare facien tune aversas eia. Domine, moriar ut te videam—are strains of Piety po ways unsultable to his original Character. The Besse, we see seed not change either his Style, or his Sentiments; as a Lover; all he has to do us to apply siem.

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fieve me, Philemon, Enthusiasm has been rishi it that specification of the share of

to a pictual and divine Object, and Dove in them's William and Devotion.

26 UNDOOBTESLY Philemon, (refumed he that is the very Truth of their Cafe. Their Inamorato-Character, as you have well observed, enters into and tinctures their Religion itself. Their Devotion is only a different Modification of their ruling Parison. They cannot be faid to act upon any just and rational Principle, because their Turn of Character is not consistent, and of a piece with itself. They substitute one Part of Religion for the Whole: And as if all Duties were comprehended in those of the Closer, fuffer a fond Attachment to the rapturous Exercises of a recluse and folitary Piety to take place to the ex-They spend to much of their Time in Prayer and Retrement, as to leave themfelves neither Leisure nor Inclination to attend to the ordinary Offices of vivil and focial Life. In Thort, they act as if it was the only gendine Test of true Love to God, to affect an intirely ufeless Character with regard to Men

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religious Character, who feemed to place post aleus Véanglet finely 41 Spatialist Continued The median ment grandthe wild Transport of sanding and from fiasm, than with the rational, sobrement manly Exercise of true and substantial Virthe more you reflect upon these Devacescommon Receion; the confidential of the Dring our clare store on the Dring our clare store one are stored the cross nothing by which are seen as and thereis nothing by whiches Jober Pursuits of an unaffected Viene too remiss and lifeless an Employment for muchi warm and farguine Tempers of we have been speaking of a To ferre Godyly Buspoles is Elect Passion in terminal and their Buspoles is Elect Passion in terminals and their Passion, a Religion, slike themselves; much up of Hestand Flavor. ple leads them to have but little to do with or guillorque section your infractal grateria the whe account he had been giving inclosed with the plant of the converse of the plant of the converse of the con religious frons.

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BELLE Wanter Philomer, (polimed he) the more you reflect upon their Devere-The discipation town you will be inclined town the confidence of t ober Pursuits of an unaffoinddald estanoit too remiss and littles an Employment for w For applie (finds) Berging I have cinery symbol as another pulable, anding into the Familiarities of Otopia of this
strice manifolds strong Mortals, and its will
for the replacehie Maria dair Printiple leads them to have but little to be with Discounded belower, among to fich in I have white had an appearable of incoming my shifty bill Breatly which I show discounsed the giquest four some Proplets from Paghons. religious

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her on seed sho repared a life. Life had the life had the

from the Principles we have laid down, you cannot but be sensible, if you will reflect a little, how natural it is that it sould. Women, you know, its generally agreed, exceed as in the Strength of their Passon. What wonder is it then that they are more inclined to the passonate Species of Religion? That they surpais us particularly in the softer Passons is so notorious, that the Epithet soft is from thence frequently made use of in common Language as Characteristical of the very Sex.

It is so (said I) and it is remarkable, that this Softness is so effectial an Ingredient in the Female Constitution, that if at any time we discover an undue Prevalency of the rougher Passions in any particular Instance, we are naturally led to take the Odium of it to ourselves, endeavouring to disguise, as it were, the Truth of the Sex, and stilling such Characters Masculine.

THIS is a piece of Complaisance, flaid Hortenfius) for which the Fair Sex is obliged to us; but it evidently proceeds upon this settled

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fettled Acknowledgment on our parts, that the most natural and approved state of Female Minds is to abound with the senderer Passions. Now this Point being once admitted, 'tis but to give a Religious Turn to this natural Softness, and you have the compleat Image of a Female Devotionalist.

IT is well (I obleved) that you have lecured the lofter Pallions their Proportion in this lost of Characters, by alligning them their Office in Religion. If you had not contrived them an Existence there, it would be difficult for the most part to find any other Selve for them.

LAM pretty much of your opinion (returned he) but us no wonder they who are so thorowly enamoured of Heaven should esteem it a kind of Profanation to admit any mere earthly Object into a Partnership in the tender Affections.

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THE PURE PROPERTY

But how (I interposed) do you account, Hortensius, for the softer Passions sirst taking this Religious Turn? You cannot always resolve it, as you did just now in the Instance of Sebassius, into a Disappointment in Love. I am sure I could mention some Female Devotees of my Acquaintance who never can have experienced a Disappointment of this sort. I am strangely mil-

ever they had an App in the single State, casti that too after kome

In flating your Continues
Philemon, you have unawares Antimer to its that was Sixualished by but now himsel ut, the went wit along the plication from our Sex, amongst the what highery of the marter at once. one as to the Point Lam concurred to under the reader Pallon hand the second an Opportunity to its threather or have been violently form that he fished Chieft after they had once been fund they be after they had once been fund they will be after the fundament from their due Scope and Exercite And if no natural Chieft or clears it hif a proper Scafen, they will be apt to carry out for themselves an imaginary and preficial one but

Universal Pattion, Sat al. p. 127.

† Adoutages has a Chapter in the Edian upon this yery Topic; " that our Affections differance them: "serves upon false Objects, where the true ones are wanting." One Inflames, which he gives from Platent, is of that Pattion which force People unit to Llogs and officer Artimate. Pluming dir a mount (logs the) de ceux qui a affectionment aux passoons a patte de pair, legitume, aluxor ous de demeurer en sean s'en forge ainfi une fundo à frivele. La fair, estation in its.

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ma lop DOW to t the Obj moderal of the bard vanishes in moderal medical productions and account (faith) for the Resident beautiful to the bards between a made, which the bards between a made is the bards with in the fingle State, and that too after forme to the bards between the bards beautiful to be fingle state, and that too after forme to the bards between the bards beautiful to be formed to be barded by a moderate in bards and the fingle state.

Exilemen, you have unawares this period the word world for (he allowed) and it would acpane likewife for mother thing which I might spollibly shave had occasion to obfarus That where this Turn of Mind happrinciple of the property of the confugal Banks, tis generally after that State havipresed unbuppy in A repeated Series of Inducits and ills Preatment weans the Affect bions of the dig head Party from an Object the has experienc'd to be to undeferving of them; and when once the natural Engage. months thus forcibly deftroy'd, "tis odds but some amorbus Species of a bigher kind Arikes in at this enitical Conjuncture; the Flame breaks out anew at some more ball lowed Shrine, and mere buman Love refines itself into serophic Rapture. med equality specimen.

I BELTEVE (replied I) in the general you may be in the right. Yet I have known fome Women frongly addicted to this decome Passion, who have never been driven to take refuge in it by any ill Usage from the part of their Hulbands. The natural Object, to use your Expression, has been H

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fufficiently worthy of their tendered. After fections, and yet they have thought fit wholly to believe them upon the artificials. Informed that their time has been in a manner divided between the alternate Recturns of Devotion towards Heaven, and of a general Displicence and Peevishness to wards every thing belies. They have been for ever in a fit of Prayer, ones III-Humour.

deception of the very Parties to moings ab a Case that does sometimes happen, thois not fo frequently as those others we have mention'd. One may not always be able to diffinguish particularly from subence the amoreus Passion took the Religious Turn wa have been speaking of; yet from the gener ral Reason of the thing one may be very confident, that, by some means or other, it must have done fo. Perhaps in the particular Case last given the fair-Inamorato might have inbibed the devout Passion as it were with her very Mother's Milk. She was of her Instruction, her Reading, her Conversation lay all this way. She was so early accustomed to see Devotion substituted for Religion, that the has intentibly catched the Same Spirit and Turn of Thinking She has practifed this devotional Habit to long Il fhe is become thorowly inamoured of it;

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it is wrought into her very Make, and nafirmed in general, that the Partiality and inconfinent Turn of fuch devotionalit-Characters as we have been describing, cannot be any-wife accounted for upon a ratiothem lies in the Passions: They are resolwible only into the prevailing Influence of the natural Temper infinuating Itself, to the deception of the very Parties themselves, into the Make and Complexion of their Religion. Informuch that whilft thefe raptur'd Inamoratos imagine they are paying homage to the Divinity, they are in reality but worthipping the Idol of their own Inelmations. They are a fort of religious Debauchees, if one may be pardoned such an Expression, who have found out the Art of reconciling Grace and Nature, Piety and Senfuality. In the midst of all their Pretenfrom to an uncommon Strictness and Sancfity, they are only exercifing a more refined, and difguised fort of Self-Indulgence. Their Religion is only a more specious Pretext for the fuller Gratification of fome of their warmest Appetites, their Devotion but a more exquistre and spiritualized Concupiscence. To confirm this Account to you yet farther, Philemon, do but confider with your felf in how amorous a Stile and soft it to be manufully in amorous of it

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holiso are gold as motoved fire about the Temper, and Charaffer of their about one are be supposed to come from any other quarked being the hard being the hard being the hard their their

part, the Compositions of that fort of People we have been describing; and indeed they

Up my Soul, become an humble Spoule of the Lord Jejus; feed thy felf with his Beauty, make him thy Darling, seceive him into thy Bejon, quench thy Thirfe with his Black, hold him felt do not lee him go Hotneck's Fire of the Altar, p. 33. O lovely Bridgeroom of my Soul, wound my Heart, that it may be fick of Love, p. 34. as above.

Let me stay and entertain my longing Soul with the Contemplation of thy Beauty, till thou shalt condescend to kiss me with the Kisses of thy Mouth, till thou shalt bring me into thy Banquetting-House. Norris's Miscella 22, p. 358. My God, my Happiness, who are fairer than the Children of Men, draw me, and I will run efter thee—Wound me deep, and strike me thre with the Atrows of a divine Passon, p. 261. as before,

Description of Love, heavenly sweet, let my Bowls be refreshed by thee, my inward Parts overflew with the Nectar of thy Love. St. Austin's Medit. translated by Stanhope, p. 258, and at large.—My dearest Lord, when shall I enjoy and talk with thee alone, in Language fast and tender, sweet and charming, as the unreserved Retirements, and endearing Whispers of the most performance Lovers? Thomas a Kempis, translated by Stanhope, p. 325, and at large—Bishop Taylor's Deventional Works, at large—Augustini Confess, passim.

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in Religion (faid I) that, I fuppore, has given tile to what is called Myfical Theo-

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ingly been stiled Mysticis landilla orustant ingly been stiled Mysticis landilla orustant ingly been stiled Mysticis landilla orustant ingly (replied Hertensus) at the increase modern Platensis and stile way in this Mystical System; in which they have been since followed by too many whimse cal enthusiastic Writers of later stimes, gast well in our own, as foreign Communicated Papists, and Protestants, Churchmen, and Dissenters. A System it is, Philemen, and the most suscious and unintelligible spageon that even the Wildness of Enthusiasint street could ever device to The true Spirituals.

Dict. de Monf. Bayle. Tom. 3 pa 60 Arte Sid quat. Ed. à Amsterdam. Ne voilà r'il pas la Voie unitive dont les Mystiques nous parlent tant; ne peut-on par les accuser d'être plagiaires des Platoniciens?

The following Scale of the Aftent of the Bondero God, given us from the mystic Writers by modeson Person than Mr. Norris, is well worth transcribing the consists of 15 Degrees. The first intuition of Foundation of Tournes the 2d a Retirement of all the Vigor and Strength of the Faculties into the innermost Parts of the Soulanthe 3d is spiritual Silence; 4 is Rest; 5 is Uniony 6 is hearing of the still Voice of God; 7 is spiritual Silenber; 8 is Extasy; 9 is Rapture; 10 is the corporal Appearance of Christ and the Saints; 11 is the imaginary Appearance of the same; 12 is the intellectual Vision of God; 13 is the Vision of God in Obscuring Table an admirable Manifestation of God; 13 is a clear and intuitive Vision of him, such as St. Mustice and Thomas Aguinas attribute to St. Paul, when he was rapture into the third Heaven.—Others of them recken begrees only. viz. Taste, Defire, Satiety, Ebriety, Security,

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acceptable Religion, which is in its own nature a liberal and reasonable Service, is here made wholly to evaporate in unnatural Heats wand water Pervols, fuch as foberer Mindenare altogether Strangers to, and which are indeed a Dilgrace, and Reproach to the Dignity of a Rational Nature And yet, Philemon, fo intoxicating are these fanciful Refinements, that when warm Heads have once given thorowly into them, they fondly delude themselves that, they are arrived at the very highest Degrees of Spiritual Improvement, have reached the Perfection and Heroifm, as it were jof Piety; and are in a manner already instated in the Joys and Privileges of Heaven, by a kind of present Sense, and Anticipation of them upon Earth 1000 avis

Tranquillity; but the name of the 7th, they fay, is known only to God. Norr. Miscel. 12° p. 323 234. Absurd and senseless! The same Mystic State is thus represented by Bishop Taylor—It is, says he, a Prayer of Quietness and Silence, and a Meditation extraordinary, a Discourse without Variety, a Vision and Intuition of Divine Excellencies, an immediate Entry into an Orb of Light, and a Resolution of all our Faculties into Sweetness, Affections, and Starings upon the divine Baouty! and is carried on to Extailes, Raptures, Supensions, Elevations, Abstractions, and Apprehentions beautifical. Great Exemplar, p. 66. One can understand nothingulation all this Description but the extreme Luscinus pesses it is a second country and countr

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and abstracted Devotion, divine Virtue, in distinction from moral, or civil Virtue. The latter, he says, is a

Tax T they may likely enough be (interpood I) seconding to the gegs Conceptions they appear to entertain of the Nuture, and Employments of that Place. For
hy the lascing Descriptions which they gonerally give of it, one would rather imagine
it to be a serjual, or Mahometon Paralife,
than a Heaven of rational Beings.

(faid he) that same Mystic Union in which they place the Rersection of all Piety here, and the Completion of Beatitude Revealer, if it was not for that natural Air of Grant

State of Proficiency, the former of Perfection; even the left Stage of human Perfection, the utmost round of the Ladder whereby we ascend to Heaven; one step bigher is Glory. Misc. p. 331, 332. So also, p. 339, a certain Pregustation of Glory, an Antepast of Felicity, the Mount of God's Presence, the Privilege of angelical Dispositions, and an excellent Religion, a divine Repast, a Feast of Love——

Norr. Miscel. p. 323, &c. "The Fruition of God is to be resolved, says this Author, partly into Vision, and partly into Love! these are the two Arms with which we embrace the Divinity, and unite our Souls to the fair-one, and the good." Miscell, 8vo. p. 412. And accordingly he elsewhere prays to be admitted to this beatistic State in these Words, "I beseech thee shew me thy Glory; withdraw thy Hand from the Clift of the Rock, and remove the Bounds from the Mount of thy Presence, that I may see thee as thou art, sace to sace, and ever dwell in the light of thy Beauty." p. 323. Thomas a Kempis, St. Aust. Med. and Conf. at large.

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vity with which they always talk of it, fore Dichery and But as Tadlerous an Ap pearance in retaines with high and fight control Por it tends to millead Men's Minds frem the true Point both of their Duty aha Happinels, when they bring themfelves to acquierce in fuch falls and miltaken Substitutes of them. And accordingly this we have more than once observed to be the Cafe in Fact of thefe Inamorato's in Religion, that they are fo much taken up with their own fanciful Abstractions, as to regard the whole Circle of civil and focial Duries with great Coolness, and Indifferency. Thele are low, and groveling Purfuits; unworthy the Attention of People fo much better employ'd as they are +! And indeed Works Res Election to Privilege of angel of Difpoli-

POP ! In all the Course of virtuous Meditation the Soul is like a Kirgin invited to make a matrimonial Contract: it inquires into the Condition of the Perfon, his Effate and Disposition, and other Circumstances of Amability and Defre: but when the is fatisfied with thefe Loquis ries, and hath chosen ber Husband, the no more confiders Particulars, but is moved by his Voice and Geftures and runs to his Entertainment and Finuition, and frends herself wholly in Affactions not to obtain, but injust his " from the Cliff or the Do of Talquiox 3 test Bauch

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As to the ferial Duties, 'tis an Observation too common in Experience, that the forwarded Pictific are very often People of the weaker and most narrows ed Benevolence. A Foreign Author, speaking of pertain Religious Persons who affected a more than ordinary frictness.

how can it be expected, that such whose fond Imaginations have already exalted them to Heaven, should condescend to act their Part with any tolerable patience upon so much lower a Scene as this of Earth? What Motive can they have who are already in some degree admitted to the Bearready

than the mean and productly brach ftrictness and warmth of Devotion, tells us that, among many other abfurd and unnatural Refinements they boatted of in their devout Paroxy/ms, one was the feeling of certain Aspirationes Misanthropicas: by which, I suppose, we are to understand a certain disdain of the love Pursuits and Offices of a mere human mortal Condition. But Iam afraid it would be equally true in another Sense, that their Flights of divine Rapture were attended with these Aspirationes Misanthropicas; meaning thereby a certain Weakness of natural Affection, a Coolness, and Displicence of Mind towards their Fellow-Creatures, which Pretences of Superior Piety do too often betray Men into. See Bayle's Dict. p. 95. under Art. Rovenius Letter A. vol. IV. See also Letters between Mr. Norris, and the Author of the Proposal to the Ladies concerning the Love of God, where 'tis a Principle on both fides agreed to, that the Love of God ought to exclude all other inferior Complacencies. Now where a Love of Complacency is quite excluded, Love of Benevolence lel-dom operates very ftrongly. See this Notion well exposed in Hutcheson's Illustrations, &c. p. 329, to the end-This unnatural Paradox in Divinity, fo much a Favourite with Mr. Norris, that it is introduced at every turn in almost all his Writings, was a Consequence of his enthuliastic Philosophy of our seeing all things in God; a Lesson which he learnt from the celebrated Father Malbranche; and very industriously inculcated upon his female Correspondent, who being of a Temper too severe to relish any thing easy or natural; and having posses'd in an eminent degree the Gift of Infrigidation, which Mr. Bayle somewhere speaks

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vour after any farther Qualifications for that purpole? at least, if any nearer Advances were to be made this way, yet how much nobler a Field of Exercise to the devout and aspiring Soul are the feraphic Entertainments of Myslicism and Extasy than the mean and ordinary Practice of a mere earthly and common Virtue +?

THESE

of, was well inclined to embrace a Doctrinc which difavowed all Love to any Creature, under colour of which, she could in some measure revenge the Disregard shewn to her by Mankind; towards whom her Writings breathe a most implacable aversion. See particularly her Resect. upon Marriage. To what an extravagance of Severity her Temper carried her, let the following more than Stoical Rant bear witness—'I believe twere easy to demonstrate, that Martyrdom is the highest Pleasure a rational Creature is capable of in this present State.' Letters, page 31. What pity is it this Advocate for the Pleasure of Martyrdom, did not live in the earlier Ages of the Christian Church, when Raeks, and Faggots, and Pitch-barrels were no unusual Entertainments?

\* Persons eminently Religious are divina patientes, Pathics in Devotion, suffering Ravishments of Senses, transported beyond the Uses of Humanity into the Suburbs of beatifical Apprehensions. Great Exemplar. p. 61. Thrice happy Soul that canst look thro' the Veil, and notwithstanding that thick Cloud of Creatures that obscures thy View, discern him that is invisible, live in the light of his Countenance all the time of thy sojourning here, and at last, pure and desecate, with a Kiss of thy Beloved, breathe out thy self into his sacred

Bosom. Letters as above. p. 180.

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+ This is what Bilhop Taylor degradingly calls Virtue and precise Duty, as if those Ecstatic and Devotional I 2 Transports

natural Temper, which indulges it's own THESE are glaring Pretences, Phila mons and his no wonder they should pass current with People of weaker Judgment under the facred Stamp of true Piety. But that Men of Superior Sente and Difeern ment in all other respects, should for far impose upon themselves by a Set of pompous and empty Sounds, would really be unaccountable, but that we have before observed. that the ground of this Delusion lies not originally in Men's Understandings, but in their Passions; which cast a strange Suffusion over the plainest Truths, and keep them in an intire Ignorance of themselves, and of the true Motives of their own Actions. For whence else can it proceed, that these myRical Refiners do not see thro' the Cheat they are in reality practifing upon themselves? Whence elfe do they not discern, that their boafted Exercises of a more exalted Piety are but the artful Disguises of their

Transports of Zeal were a kind of Supererogation in Piety-and yet tho' this Author feems willing enough to give these latter the preference in point of Excellence and Dignity, he owns at the same time that the greater fafety lies on the fide of a more common and ordinary Virtue. For that " many Illusions have come " in the Likeness of Visions, and absurd Fancies under " the pretence of Raptures, &c." And again, "So we-" Jatisfying a thing is Rapture and Transportation to the Soul; it often distracts the Faculties, but seldom does advantage Piety, and is full of Danger in the greatest of its Lustre." Great Exemp. p. 61.

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sensible, that their Prayers are the very
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Wishest the Essissions of a Breast heated
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For a tafte of this Inamorato-Devotion read the following Paffage in the 35th Chap. of St. Huftin's Meditations, and thence judge whether he did not borrow many of his devout Ideas from his unregencrate State; from anno illo decimo fexto ætatis Carnis meæ (which he himfelf speaks of in his Confessions, Book 1. Ch. a.) cum accepit in me foeptrum, et totas manus ei dedi vefaniæ libidines O Love of Sometness; O Sweetness of Love, that dost not torment, but delight, that dolt always burn, and art never extinct, fweet Christ, good Jesus, my God, my Love, kindle me all over with the Fire, with the Love of thee, with thy Sweetness, thy Joy, thy Pleasure and Concupifcence, that being all full of the Sweetness of thy Love, all on fire with the flame of thy Charity, I may love thee, my God, with my whole Heart, and with all the Power of my inward Parts (totis medullis præcordiorum meorum in the original, a much stronger Expression) having thee in my Heart, in my Mouth, and before my Eyes always and every where. Deus Lumen cordis mei, et panis oris intus animæ meæ, et virtus maritans mentem meam, et sinum eogitationis mea, non te amabam, et fornicabar abs te. Confessionum, Lib. 1. cap. 13. May one not apply here what he elsewhere fays, Recordari volo transactas fæditates meas, et carnales corruptiones, ut amem te, Deus meus. Con. lib. 2. cap. 1. Sure he has here abundantly transcribed from them into his Devotions.

AND indeed upon better Reflexion confidering from what Causes the Diftern per of Mind we are here speaking of, takes it's rife, Men of superior Parts, a livelier Imagination, and more refined Genius, feem of all others to be most in danger of it. For they, it is well known, are generally obferved to be of that fort of Temperament which is the most natural Soil for Enthufasm to spring up in. The superior Fineness and Delicacy of their Make gives a more than ordinary Edge and Keenness to all their Passions, those especially of the tender amorous kind. Now the ecstatic Habit is in a peculiar degree infectious to this fort of Constitution. Devotion, according to the myflic Notion of it, is a kind of natural Relief to the Cravings and Importunities of some of these Men's eagerest Defires, which they may indulge in the freest manner without Limit or Reluctancy; not only with no danger to their Innocence, but even with confiderable Advantage, as is imagined, to their spiritual Estate. It does, as the ingenious Satirist you was quoting not long fince, speaks upon another Occasion,

Relieve their Wants, and Spare their Blusbes Applicationes amerifus shingle infoenfoces cotiqui-

It is admirably contrived to allay certain irregular and uneafy Ferments in the Blood

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<sup>\*</sup> Universal Raffion, Sat. 6. page 140.

and animal Spirits to which this fort of Temperament is peculiarly subject, which might otherwise sollicit a Remedy of a coarser kind. Those Heats of Passions which in an inferior Class of Sensualists would excite to Amours of a more bumble and ordinary strain, in these mystic Lovers are thrown off in Seraphic Ardors, and break out in these spiritual Debaucheries.

\* Such certainly we must esteem their Uniones cum Ded (of which we are told by Rovenius they are used to boast) cum uniantur proprio, si non pejori spiritui; their Transubstantiationes mysticas: Cordis concentrationes: Potentiarum, imo omnis fui effe, annihilationem; Connubium effentiæ creatæ & divinitatis: fpirituale Sacramentum inseperabilitatis: Somnium omnium affectionum: Absorptionem & liquelactionem in amplexu fponfi: Triplicem animæ hierarchiam; Orationem in quiete paffiva: Ebrietatem spiritualem: cordis filentium: Meditationes negativas: Uniones fuperessentiales: Puteum & gurgitem annihilationes: Amorem deificium, transformantem, unientem, stringentem, amplexantem; Suavitatem cor auferentem, fugentem sponsi ubera, ruminantem collum: Absorbentem enthufiasmum: Insensibilitatem & oblivio nem omnium inducentem: Abyssalem cum Deo identificationem: Confricationem deificam, incendentem, & consumentem Cor: Elevationem ad suavitatem coelestem ex infernali languore: Introversionem fuper-cœlestem: Caliginem & umbram Dei: Allocutiones internas, Elevationes incognitas, Extensiones & Applicationes amorosas: Animæ suspensiones, deliquium, suspiria: Mortem sensuum & omnium affectuum, ecstasim continuam, justitium ratiocinii: Cordis contactum & patefactionem: liquefactionem, influxum, inflammationem : Affultus qui ferri nequeant: Penetrationes ad intima: Vulnerationes, constrictiones, alligationes

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halls I here before heard of, and yet methinks by the help of your Preparations, thereinfied I begin to digeft it pretty readily. You have taught me, that it is not merely peffible in Idea, but that in Past there is as great a Biafs this way in Spiritulals in the Conflitutions of fome People, as in others there is observed to be in 1991 mon Life. But after all, if this mysteal kind of Debauchery be rather the more absurd and extravagant, it is certainly the less criminal than that which is more order narily practifed in the World.

ligationes inseparabiles: Aspectus penetrantes & oblectantes, Voces tremulas, Musmura columbinat. Gustas suavissimos, Odores gratissimos, Auditus melodici collestis, Hypermysticas Dei & Animae perichoreses. Impudentiam spiritualem, aspirationes misanthropicas, ignem sine carbone, stammam sine corpore: Holocaustum meridianum in viscerali & medullari penetrabilitate: Contactum mirabilem & suavissimum, observanoctis gaudia, & caliginem:—hac & similia sesquipedalia verba in nova Pietatis schola inter sponte elessos Magistros, & Discipulas curiosas, adeo frequenter tenero proferuntur palato, at intimis in visceribus sentiantur. Rovenius de Repub. Christiana Lib. I. ucap. 43. p. 278. Bayle's Dict. p. 95. Letter A. under Art. Rovenius, Tom. IV.

It has fometimes been to contrived by the more expert Masters in the mystic Science, that both forts have been practised at the same time, the one being made use of to introduce or facilitate the Execution of the other. Those who have been most forward to propagate these mystical Doctrines, have not always been

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fay the truth, confidering that it takes off the Mind from much worse Pursuits, which the same natural Warmth of Temper and Constitution would in all probability betray these emorous Devotees into, were it not for such a Spiritual Application, I do not fee but it might pass without much Censure, as rather a Weakness, than a Fault in them; but that, as you have observed, whilst it restrains them from some more vicious Excesses, it is too apt to divert their Attention from many more noble and useful Virtues, which are the proper Business, and I may add, the most distinguishing Ornaments too, of their prefent State\*.

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pelrige \$50/24ff@ctadegr3gff5ctfl. To hissobalan contribute themselves the most spiritually minded. The pretences of Quietism, and of a more sublime and abstracted Devotion, have fometimes been employ'd to very gross and carnal Purposes, and the mystic Union has brought about a Union not altogether so mysterious. See Monsieur Bayle's Dict. pag. 300. vol. 3. who there relates at large an Adventure much to our purpose; in conclufion he has this Reflection—Je me contente d'affûrer qu'il y a beaucoup d'apparence, que quelques-uns de ces dévots si spirituels, qui font espérer qu'une forte Méditation, ravira l'Ame, & l'empêchera de s'appercevoir des Actions du Corps, se proposent de patiner impunément leurs dévotes, & de faire encore pisa C'est de quoi l'on accuse les Molinosistes. En general, il n'y a rien de plus dangereux pour l'esprit, que les dévotions trop mystiques, & trop quintessenciées, & fans doute le Corps y court quelques risques, & pleulieurs y veulent bien étre trompez.

\* 'Tis a severe, but I am afraid no unjust Satire upon this fort of Characters, what Monsieur Bayle observes

Turpshis one of its worst affects (see turned Hortensius) but it has several other very mischievous ones. Particularly oib gives great and signal Discouragement to the general Practice of Piety in the World, by exposing it to Ridicule, and the Change of affected Singularity. On the one hand, it throws many honest and well meanings but weaker Minds into a Despair of even

of Mademoiselle Bourignen, a noted Preterider to cela de commun avec tous les Devots, qu'ellera éta d'une humeur bilieuse & chagrine Freminam duram immitem, pervicacem, stomachabundam, rixosam, are Compliments Monfieur de Seckendorf makes her upon the Testimony of her own Writings. She was, as it feems, perpetually changing her Servants, and indeed well the might, for belides the natural Moroschell of her Temper (fo great, as this Author remarks, Mut " nemo morolitatem ejus tolerate pollet, minime om inium foeminæ quas in fodalltium aut famulitium ad-16 foiverat; exercebatur nempe in illas, ut lufte Sary-"ricus, Præfectura domus, Sicula non mitior sula" befides this, the would hardly allow them common neceffaries-Si ceux qui ont demeure avec elle n'avoient eu les dents biens fortes pour digerer certaines eroûtes biens dures a la nature corroppue, ils l'auroient quittée mille fois pour une. Bayle's Dict. p. 687. By this Conduct, 'tis easy to observe, the gratified at once her Covetourness (for which the was very remarkable) in leffening the ordinary Expences of her Family; and her Piety in training up her Domestics to the Practice of Christian Mortification. Let us proceed upon this Instance, and see if it will not account for some others of the same kind .... 'Tis no unusual thing to fee People practifing very high Degrees of Devetten, Mortifunction shall be too that

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fucceeding in the Buliness of Religion, because upon Examination they discover in themelves little or no Acquaintance with thole tumultuous Heats, and angoverned Sallies of Raffon, upon which to great a Strefs is laid by these religious Inamorato's: And on the other, it hardens the disfolute and unthinking Part of Mankind into an obstinate Reluctance towards the very first Efforts of Reformation, by confirming them in a Prejudice they are of themselves too willing to entertain against Religion, that it is a rigorous impracticable Service; a State of unnatural Refinement, altogether incompatible with the common Measures of human

the feller out of at the witting . She was, as it Montification, and other supposed Instances of a more eminent Religion, who yet are extremely faulty when confider'd in their focial Character: Bad Parents, Husbands, Wives, Children, Friends, Relations, Governors of Families, &c. This inconsistent Behaviour with some People makes them pass for downright Hypoerites, and acting a mere Farce in their greatest Strictnesses. The Cafe is far otherwife; they are very fincere, but at the fame time very much miftakens for they confider Religion as a matter quite diffinct from, and much fuperior to, focial Virtue; hence they are fo busied with the one, that they have no leifure to bestow any care upon the other. - Or posfibly after all they may have found out the Ar, with our Author's Heroine, of fantlifying their own Hummurs and Tempers under the name of fome religious Quality; and then there will be very little Mystery in the matter. For by this artful way of Self-Delution (and nothing is so artful as Self-Detusion) a severe Hatred of one's own Species may, as was hinted above, be conftrued K 2

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humanishiferenicAnd after alled Bbileums Supposing this devotional and occupant Habit were infittelf basely innonents (which set of dane fayiyou nare convincid from owliatches been just new faid of its that it is for itson being) fill lit mult be sememberd other there is a much greater Degree of Refolution thewn in overcoming Temptations than in meanly deferting our Post, and flying from them. The true Heroifu of Religion confifts in living and acting our part well in the World, not in any tanciful Abstration of ourselves from it. It argues a much greater Strength, and Firmnels of Mind mamore exalted Pitch of Self-Government, to be able to keep a due guard upon our Passions At the same time that we leave them to their nto a more intire Love of God Natural Sevent will be religious Discipline --- Anger and Pervillages, Zeal — Moroseness, Gravity—Weakness of Mind, a Tenderness of Conscience—Narrowness of thinking, Orthodoxy—Pride, a Regard to Things or Perfons facred—splenetic Contempt of the World, a becoming Abstraction from it—unmanly Tameness of Mind, a Christian Poverty of Spirit—Singularity, Constancy—Warmth of Constitution, Devotion, Office and perhaps too miltaken Applications, Infrances, and Passages of Scripture, may not be wanting to a willing Mind to support itself in any of these Errors.

Let us once more have recourse to our Example— We are told of Mudemoifelle Bourignon, that far from imagining, que sa bile fût un defaut, elle l'appelloit amour de Justice; & soutenoit que la colere etoit une veritable Vertu: & se desendoit par les Rigueurs que les Prophetes, & les Apôtres ont exercées. Bayle's Dict. Billop of Bang Total and Bung Bound to godie natural

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fided Verge of Reafer and Religion, chan to be driven to take Refuge from their my tarial Exorbitancies in the Invention of the ferondary and artificial Method of indulging them, and artificial Method of indulging them, and the transfer of them, to fay no worse of its feems beyond all others improper and mort grays one show the same and the

-n Would you then (faid I, interrupting him) allow no Scope to the Paffions in Religion? That will indeed effectually purge it of it's unnatural Heats; but will it not be running too far back into the chilling Extreme? Our Passions are the Springs of Action in our ordinary Concerns, without which Life itself would be apt to stagnate; may not some such quickening Influence be equally necessary in our religious ones? Our Prayers particularly, if they be not warm'd and inliven'd with some Degrees of Fervency and Intenseness (the Helps towards which feem to me to lie mostly in the Paffions) will they not degenerate into a mere lifeless Indifferency, a cold and formal Lip-Service? You know a certain great Man was once pretty feverely treated for defining Prayer to be a calm, undisturbed, Addrefs to God. A Doctrine, it should feen, very near of kin to yours in what you just les Prophetes, & des A potres out exet bonavhe won

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<sup>\*</sup> Bishop of Bangor's Sermon before the King in 1717.

thought to convey a Perry just Idea of the In this (replied Horsenflus) black book the only Offence of that Gentleman in the Diffeomforyou refer to, I but apt 40 believe his Adverfaries had afforded him berio ter Quarter But the main Quarret against him forung, as I take it from orber Mand tives , and this Circumstance came in chiefly to aggravate and inflame the general Charges And indeed the Rascour of Controversy itself durst not attack him upon this Article, till, by an Artifice very familiand expert Disputants, it had first disguised and thrown afide it's natural and obvious Mean ing sexplaining away calm, and undis sturbed, into cold and unconcerned, contrary to all Rules of common Language. Whereas, take the Passage in the plain received Sense and Intention of it, and it is fo far from ministering any reasonable grounds of execption, that for my part, I cannot conceive, how a juster or truer Account of Prayers within the compass of so few Words, could possibly have been devised. This, I think, must appear to any one, who, distiking the Definition here given of Prayer, hall be pleased, for experiment fake, to record it is substituting the contrary Epithen of troubled, and tumultuous, instead of celu and undisturbed. Such a Description would, I imagine, have a pretty odd Sound the Ears of most People; and hardly be thought ingiton?

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and members and to some to the some statement into another. But centainly some Degrees of Warmth and Earnesthese beyond what is expressed by the Words calm and undisturbed, seem necessary to give Life and Spirit to our Devotions. Such a feeble Attack as this amounts to can never be called with any tolerable Propriety of Speech a taking the Kingdom of Heaven by Violence?; a Notion under which, it I miltake not, our Divines do not unfrequently represent this Duty of Prayers.

Whereas You milake the Point (returned he) Philemon. Warmth and Earnestness in any good fenfe are by no means inconfiftent with being cabe, and undiflurbed; which is opposed, not to having a fixed rational Intention of Mind in our Religious Exercises, a ferious recollected Frame of Spirit; but to the artificial Heats and Transports of a wanton Imagination, and an Enthusiastic Fancy, that grofs, and mechanical fort of Devotion, which Writers of the myfic Class, who no doubt are themselves well acquainted with it, describe as accompanied with " " Sensible Commotion of the Spirits, and E+ the Hars of most Peopler .remin it Mill to

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" funtion of the Blood":" An excellent. and doubtless an indiffentible, Ingredient this, in the Service of him who has declared, he is to be worshipped by all true Worsbippers in Spirit and in Truth ! Those who think calm and undisturbed in Prayer to mean the same with lifeless, and indistern rent feem to me to forget that there are any fuch Principles in human Nature as pure Affections, distinct from those supplemental Forces which they may sometimes receive from certain Ferments in the animal Oeconomy, defign'd by the Wisdom of Providence to excite or quicken their influence upon emergent Occasions, and which are, properly speaking, Passions ... And in-

Norris's Miscel. 129. p. 335. 'Tis said also to be passionate, and even wonderfully so, and exceeding the Love of Women. And accordingly Men of the most warm and pathetic Tempers, and affectionate Comwithal to fix upon the right Object) prove the great f Votaries in Religion. ibid. 335, 336.—A Joy whole perpetual Current always affords a fresh Delight and yet every drop of it so entertaining, that we might live upon it to all Eternity: whilst our Souls are inebriated with its Pleasures, our very Bodies partake of its Sweetness. For it excites a grateful and casy Mo-Movement of the Passions, as comprehends all the Dec light abstracted from the Uneasiness which other 2000 jects are apt to occasion. Lett. conc. the Love of Gody + St. John iv. ver. 23. The animon si grade ships " p. 86. 87.

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deed these latter have so plain a reserence to the Wes of the animal Life; that were not the Fact too common, one would wonder how they should ever get sooting in Spiritual, to which they seem not to have the loof Relation. In our ordinary Concerns the Connexion between the Affections and Passions is often too secret, the mutual Transpirions from one to the other, often too quick

thing diffinct from the Affections, it includes a confused Sinfation either of Pleasure or Pain, occasion'd or attended by some violent bodily Motions, which keeps the Mind much employ'd upon the present Affair, to the exclusion of every thing else, Nat. and Conduct of the Passions. p. 50.

Pallions. p. 50.

The Author of Nature has probably formed many affine Beings, whose Defires are not attended with confused Sensations, raising them into Pallions like to ours.

ibid. p. 28, 29.

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Beings of such Degrees of Understanding, and such Avenues to Knowledge, as we have, must need these additional Forces, which we call Passions, &c. ibid. p. 51. and to the end of the Sect.

When more violent confused Sensations arise with the Affection, and are attended with, or prolonged by bodily Motions, we call the whole by the Name of Passion.

ibid. Sect. 3. p. 60

Those who would see a Desence in form of this soft of passionate Devotion, may find it in Mr. Norris's Miscel. p. 423, and following ones.——It may not be amiss to insert here his Answer to a very important Objection to his favourite Scheme of a sensitive Love of God. Some, says he, I know are of opinions that his not possible for a Man to be affected with this sensitive Love of God, which is a Passion, because there is nothing in God which falls under our magination; and consequently (the Imagination

Distinction. And here the Mischief of confounding them is not great. But in Religion tis far otherwise: there, however just an Application there may be for our pure rational Affections, the Subject is too sacred for our Passions to intrude, without profoning it. No one will imagine our Affections are less real for being purged of all gross and corporeal Mixtures; and certain it is, they are hereby rendered much more pure, and consequently more suitable to a spiritual and divine Object. Now this Distinction being kept in view, 'tis easy to see,

es being the only Medium of Conveyance) it cannot be propagated from the intellectual Part to the fenfitive: whereupon they affirm, that none are capable of this fenfitive paffionate Love of God but Christians, 46 who enjoy the Mystery of the Incarnation. But tis not all the Sophistry of the cold Logicians that shall work me out of the Belief of what I feel and know, and rob me of the sweetest Entertainment of my "Life, the passionate Love of God." - Thus far we see he only enjoys himself in his Delusion; how he defends it, will next appear. After triumphing a little longer. " As to the Objection, fays he, I an-" fwer, that altho' in God, who is the Object of our Love, we can imagine nothing, yet we can imagine " that our Love; which confifts in this, that we " would unite ourselves to the Object beloved, and confider ourselves as it were a part of it; and the se fole Idea of this very Conjunction is enough to stirup " a Heat about the Heart, and so to kindle a very vehement Passion: to which, I add, that altho' Beauty " in God be not the same as in corporeal Beings, yet " it is something analogous to it, and that very Anaec logy

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How de Anthony the is not a per under fland p. 60. The in Devotion

how needless it is to have recourse to our Passion, in order to give life and vigor to our religious Exercises, when our calm rational Affections, a much nobler Part of our Composition, are abundantly sufficient to all wife and good Purpoles of doing this. These will inspire Warmth without Flame, Strength without Rage and Violence. that we shall be able to pray at once with the Spirit, with all the earnestness of a devout Recollection, and as the same inspired Person speaks, with the Understanding also\*

" logy is enough to excite a Passion." --- We have been several times obliged to this Gentleman for afcertaining to us the Fast of this Inamorato-Devotion ; here we have him condescending to explain the Philesophy of it. It seems, we are to set our Spirits at work about fomething, we know not what, and when we have firr'd up a sufficient Heat about the Heart (which by the way is rather felt than to be imagined) we are to fall in love with this very junction is the Word of Command, and instantly all the tender Passions are called to exercise. Let those who can make Senfe of fuch a Religion, enjoy it as they please, 'Tis to be hoped after all, a little Sobriety of Thought does not incapacitate a Man to be a religious Agent; and that People may ferve God acceptably without turning Visionaries and Enthusialts.

1 Cor. xiv. yer. 15, &c.

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How different this from what Caffian reports of Inthony the Hermit, who used, it seems, to say, that is not a perfect Prayer, in which the Votary does either understand himself or the Prayer! See Great Exemplar, p. 60. This is being, as the same Author has it, Pathics in Devotion with a witness .-

with

with a due Sense of that awoful Prefence we are at such Scalons more imme-diately surrounded with, and which we may be very fure is much better pleased with the Worthip of a pure Heart, and of well or der'd Affections, than with all the wild and wanton Ecstafies, that even the most lusciens Enthufiast can boast of. In Mort, Passion is but the mere Mechanism of Devotion; and in proportion as that prevails, it lofes fo far its true Nature and Dignity, land ceases to be a reasonable Service This we may fafely affirm, Philemon, that the facred Scriptures know nothing of those passionate Heats, and Parexysms of devout Phrenzy which some Men are so fond of. These mystical Refinements owe not their birth to the rational Simplicity of the Goffel, but to the fond Conceits of Men in After-Ages departing from the dee, to introduce their own vain Imaginations, and Systems of Will-Worship in its stead. Where do we read of Ecftafies, Raptures, Sufpensions, of flarings upon the divine Beauty, explising in the Embraces of our Maker +, and I know not what other Flights of entbufufic Jargon, in the inspired Pages? What mention is there ever made of the refined Transports of feraphic Love, the myflic Union,

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<sup>\*</sup> Rom. xii. ver. 1. and ignio 2016 noidw + Taylor's Great Exemplar. p. 60. Norris's Mifeel.

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and all the other fanciful Abstractions of Monastic, and Recluse Pietifts? These are the Dreams and Inventions of Men, not the Doctrines of Christ and his Apolles. Religion in the New Testament is often represented as the proper Discipline of the Passions, but never once, that I know of, as the Bubness, and Exercise of them. Prayer is often mention'd, and commanded; but not a word is faid of those ecflotic and artificial Commotions which the mystical Divinity is so full of. When thou prayest, says our Lord, enter into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut thy Door, to avoid all vain Oftentation, pray to the Father which is in secret. And after this manner pray ye, Our Father, &c \*. Words of fuch amazing Force, and Comprehenfion, and at the same time of such a wonderful, and inartificial Simplicity, as must convince the most harden'd Infidel, would he give himself leave thoroughly to attend to them, of that divine Spirit and Wisdom by which the Author of them most unquestionably Spake. This excellent Form of Prayer, Philemon, was, we know, intended as a Model for all succeeding Ages to copy after in their devotional Compositions; and how little does it savour of those affected Strains with which later Compilers of devout Formularies fo generally abound? The truth is, it \* Mat. vi. ver. 6. and 9.

is not, like theirs, conceiv'd in the Heat of an enthuliathic Fancy, or feron with the false Gland of human Eloquence, but with spileven with that powerful Energy of Thoughe, and that affecting Plainnefs of Expression, as thewis Devotion, in the Intention of that pure and Spiritual Being who is the great Object of it, to be a very different thing from what these Men's militaken Zeal would represent it. An Exercise of our retienat Nature, not of our fenfitives the danful Homage of intelligent Spirits, not the went ton Careffings of amorous Voluntaries & kind of mysteral Intriguing, and functified that in the just and demilled that in the just and dentiful Occinents

of this kind appears in the admirable Form of Prayer you have been speaking of. It is composed in a quite different Stile, and gives one a very noble and exalted Idea of the rational and manly Genius of true Devotion. It is strange the devotional Writers of later times should have so generally agreed to deviate from the Simplicity of so divine and excellent a Model; but Men have a wonderful Aptness to refine upon plain Institutions, and in nothing more than in the Business of Religion.

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WHEN one confiders (interrupted Hortenfius) how strongly this over-refining Bials operates in most other devotional Compolitions, it must greatly recommend the public Offices of our Church, that they are fo unexceptionable upon this Article. Nothing can equal the Wonder that they should so intirely escape a Contagion of so infinuating a nature, except the Pleafure it must give every rational Worshipper that they have done it. For fuch, it must be confess'd, was the Judgment and Temper of the first Compilers of our public Liturgy, our never to be forgotten Reformers, that in the just and beautiful Description which the reverend Historian of the Reformation gives of it, It has brought our Worship to a fit Mean between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked Flatness. Here, Philemon, are none of those Flights and Extravagancies which fo much abound, in more private Formularies; all is grave, manly, and rational.

I was of his Opinion in the main, (I own'd) but at the same time I could not but think there was room for several Amendments in our public Service, which I wished the Wisdom of our Governours would take into their serious Consideration.

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<sup>\*</sup> Bp. Burnet's Abr. of the Hift. of the Ref. 8vo. p. 59.

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XX There ever any were bullant Com polition (answer'd florrenges) upolly free and white the polly free and the polly free and the polly free is as thuch or more to, that any other effectally confidering how long a time it Afteration, as Occasions and Circumstances may have required. For my part, I am much more inclined to rejoice that it is no worse, than to complain that it is no better. I wish our private Forms, were but half as unexceptionable as our public ones.

WHAT think you (faid I) of those Heads of private Prayer which the excellent Author of the Religion of Nature delineated has offer'd, under the Article of Traths relating to the Deity +? I do not remember to have met with any private Form that has pleased me so well, or which I have thought so every way conformable to that divine Standard of Devotion we were mentioning just now.

The last public Revisal of our Liturgy was made and subscribed by the Convocation on Friday the 20th of December 1661, and passed both Houses of Paris ment the March following. Wheatly's Append to Introde to rational Illustration of the Book of Come † See Wollaffon's Rel. of Nat. del. p. 120, 121.

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Law glad (replied He) Philemon, you are to much a friend to this Author's Method of Devotor, which certainly is al together of the agim and undiffurb's kind; tho at the same time it is to far from being lifelest, and indifferent, that on the contrary it is sparm'd and animated with every rational and affectionate Sentiment, that can awaken a devout Attention; sufficient, one would imagine, to inspire Thoughtfulness into the most diffolute Breast, and awe even the Wildness of Enthuhafm itself into some Degrees of rational Composure. Tis true, this excellent Writer rather fuggefts to his Readers several Articles, as Heads, or Hints of Devotion, as you rightly term'd them, than gives them the direct Form of a Prayer. But 'tis ealy to reduce them to a direct and regular Form, by a few light Alterations; and that too conformably to the Christian System, tho' at present they are rather drawn up upon the Plan of natural Religion. To those who are desirous of a more lengthen'd, or more explicit Ritual, should recommend those admirable Forms of Prayer which have been lately made public at the end of a celebrated Freatife upon the Sacrament, supposed to have come from the same worthy Hand with the Doctrine of the calm and undisturbed Address  $\mathbf{M}$ 

Address They are indeed drawn up with and excellent Spirit, I and great i Judgments full of warm and animated Sentiments of Pitty towards God, expressing itself chieft and principally (as true Piety will always do) in Strains of most inlarg'd and affectionate Charity and Benevolence towards Menmod Devotion thus temper'd and conducted is certainly one of the noblest Employments of a rational, and focial Natures of is not to be confider'd as a bare Discharge of one Act of our Duty, but as an excellent Means of forming our Minds to Habits of universal Virtue, and Goodness. For it calls forth every nobler and more generous Principle within us, cultivates and cherifhes these natural Seeds of Worth and Excellency in our Hearts which will gradually ripen into Action, and abound to all the Graces of a perfect Character. In a word, Philemon, it raises and exalts the Soul far above the utmost Refinements of the Cloyster, or the most ecstafy'd Heats of monastic Vifionaries; for it does in reality accomplish, what those do but in vain pretend to, the fashioning our Souls into a Divine Likeness; by exercifing them in all those truly Godlike Affections, which are the distinguishing Marks " a reasonable Way. Wo Duries, how well soever.

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bus or Machines to be acted upon by the arbitrary, bus Force of a hiperior Being. In the natural and reading to the sturied and reading to the sturied and reading to the studies of the s

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and Features of Divinity and II the rather mention this daubba's Forms of Devotion, as they may help ato reconcile you to his Definition to a Prayer, about which you feem't to have fome Distrust. For certainly is his Practice may be allowed to be a good Comment upon his Sentiments, they are perfectly just, and rational in this point.

great fault with this Author's devotional Forms, Mas indeed with the whole Doctrine of the Treatife to which they are annex'd.

When I speak here of the natural good Tendencies of Prayer rightly discumflanced, I would not be understood to exclude any Superior Helps, and Assistances to Virtue, which may be promised to it in Scripture. Something of this kind we are there fufficiently warranted to expect from it. Mean while, as to the pracife Nature, and Degree of these Affistances, that is nowhere. specially determin'd. From the Comparison our Lord. makes use of to illustrate this matter to us, that of the Wind's blowing where it lifteth, from Causes to us secret, and imperceptible, we are instructed to think, that the Workings of the divine Spirit are by us undistinguishable from those of our own proper and natural Fa-See John iii. ver. 8 .- And indeed were the Scripture wholly filent in the Case, the plain " Reason " of the Thing would teach us, that the Benefits re-"ceiv'd by reasonable Creatures from any Persor-"manees, must, as our Author speaks, be receiv'd in " a reasonable Way. No Duties, how well soever " perform'd, can be supposed to operate as Charms, " nor to influence us as if we were only Clock-work, " or Machines to be acted upon by the arbitrary " Force of a superior Being. In the natural and rea-" fonable

as a matter of fuch infinite Hazard, and over the the Treatile (teplical he) mainte tame Lithink; doubt, as well from the Mad turn of then Work at follows from the known Character of its prefumed Author, a know that it was wrote with a moderncollent Delign. Every body knows, who has at all-confil der'd the Subject, or medelany Observation upon the Conduct of most People in ordimary Life intidelation to Athe Bacrameter with what a multitude of abfurd is upinfitions this Institution of our Land's rions ginally plain, i and fimple in siffelf, ohas been moumber'd by the Weakness, or Cotsuption of succeeding Ages of Christians. Sometimes it has been few forth to view with forthoroughly forbidding and Afpet, bours

fonable Tendency of them we ought to found our main Expectations." Nature and End of the Sacra-ment, p. 154, 155.— This by the way may suggest to us how necessary a thing a discreet and well-indeed Choice is in the Matter of our Devations. The Sentiments to which we familiarife our Minds by the the fant Returns of our Devotional Exercises, will not fail - to have a great Influence upon the Conduct of our Lives in general; especially, as they come always attended with a religious Impression. Particularly, we should do well to select for our Purpose fuch Forms chiefly as are most api to improve our Virtue, and to inpire us with an inlarg d, and active Benevalence. The contrary whereof is to visible in the narrow and con-tracted Sentiments of too many Religionists, that one quite other Principles. For my part, I am verily perfuaded, that, as nothing has a better Effect upon the natural

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as a matter of fuch infinite Hazard, and Difficulty, that weak and honelb Minds have been difcouraged from his by the undatasal Terror of rite Appearances Vand fold plain Command has been neglected, for fear of an unsworthy Performance of it. W Av others, it has been represented to much in the nature of a religious Charm, that many have been brought to lay an unwarranted Strefs upon this one Act of Religion, to the prejudice of all belides, and for a punctual Discharge of their Duty in this one respect has been abused into a liberty of violating it in every orber, Now the undereiving People of both thefe Prejudices is certainly a Defign which every good Man must rejoice to fee well executed, And this is the very Point our Author labours

tural Temper, than a mainly, rational, benevolent, Devotion, so nothing does so effectually four and fool it, as
that illiberal, marriw, and ungenerous sort of Devotion
which is too commonly taught and practised by People
of a Religious Turn. Far from opening and inlarging the
Mind to Views of impartial, and unlimited Benevolence,
it inspires in it's stead, as a polite Author has well express'd it, a fort of supernatural Charity, which confidering the future Lives and Happiness of Mankind
instead of the present, and extending itself wholly to another World, has made us leap the Bounds of natural
Humanity in this; bas rais a Antipathies which no
temporal Interest could ever do, and taught us the way
of plaguing one another most devoutly, "Charact, vol. I.
p. 18!——It may not be amils to observe here, that this
way of thinking is not a little countenanced by the very
Turn and Composition of that excellent Form of Prayer
which was recommended to us by the divine Author of

bouts in the Performance we are speaking of stand indeed as he undertook it with a trible Rational lands Christian Intention? he feems to me to have discharged it with admirable Success. Thus much, I think much be daid; that so long as Men are constructed that to long as Men are constructed to take their Notions of this institution from the Institutor himself, and not from the Comments of Men in after times presented in the Comments of Men in after times presented in the construction of Men in after times presented in the construction of Men in after times presented in the land of the land which its invitation of the most of Men in after times presented in the land of the land which its invitation of the land of the land which its invitation of the land of the land which its land of the land of the

our Religion bimfelf. The Lord's Prayer, 'sis well known runs throughout in the plural Number. We are instructed to say, Our Father, Give Us this day, Forgive Us, lead Us not, Deliver Us, &c all of them Petitions of univerful Extent and Comprehension, to be made in the behalf of all Mankind, as well as of ourfelyers Should not this teach us, that an inlarged, universal Benevolence ought ever to accompany our religious Addreffes? And indeed, to confider a little the plain Real fon of the thing, when can we so properly awaketoin our Souls a strong Sense and Conviction of our commen Alliance to one another as Beings of the Jame Nature and Species, as when we are in a more especial Manner presenting ourselves before that great Being who is the common Parent of our Species? who has signified to us his good Pleasure, in a Language far more emphatical and expressive than any external Declaration, Language of our own Hearts, that univerfal unlimited Benevolence should be as much the flanding Law of the moral World, as Gravitation is of the natural? and that the Body-focial should be as firmly knut togeelegantly speaks, the Ties of mutual Kindness antigood Affection, as natural Bodies are held together in their respective Cohesions by the mutual Attractions of their feveral Parts?

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AND as the Diflike which fome People have shewn to the Treatise itself, seems to have arisen rather from uncertain Suspicions of the Author's general way of thinking, than from any supposed falle Doctrines he has directly afferted in it; so I am inclined to think, this has been full as much the Cafe in respect to the devotional Forms, v This I am pretty fure of, Philemon; that if they

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cular Systems, then teles de characteriste a mus of some Men's Religion, they breathe a mush discharacteristics even that of iniderate of the biology and Fortunante). It this in soid test biope to the irregular sallies of the Wagnetic Daffins in Religion, than satellite Wagnetic Original And let Man'telne as much as they please, what we have the youd these, under the Pretext of a more exalted Devotion, it is not, as we have teen please, but Embusiasing of which, I thop, you are by this time inade Originally and the quainted with the true Originally and the neasestal resourced archive of which, I thop, you are by this time inade Originally and the neasestal resourced archive or the present original properties.

I was so (I confess'd) and I thought myself much obliged to him for leading me so agreeably into the Discovery of the You have (said I) abundantly convinced me of what I did not suspect before, that I has its Foundation in a certain Make and Constitution of Men's Bodies; and after the pompous things that are said of It by Men of Fancy and Imagination, is at the bottom only a more disguised way of The dulging a very ordinary natural Passes. The in short little else but being very religiously in love, a fort of a but December.

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Like what you are driving at freturned I) As I spreed to resolve the denates Character in Religion into an smorous Constitution to you would have mit resolve the hermitical and austere Character Into a time morous, gloomy, and phlegmatic one.

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tachment to particular Modes of Opinion, is denouncing Wrath and Destruction argund all who have the misfortune to differ from him, and with a kind of malicious Pleasure hurling the Fluinderbolts of divine Vengaance upon many ninfer and soberer Heads than his own; his excessive Line Place but a more sandified fort of Ghot less Place, January of Power and Dominion with all the blacker Tribe of Rase Independent Whig, 12mo, p. 204. 6 Ed. vol. 1.

hons,

hap involve Springs that let his ambable Regentiments to works the Reverend For fordinated, fless at ludicrous nauthor hall it. identicaer fold Twent in this Peterseen "Pulpit;" and "would certainly quarrel, minh dick over his Chatet, as well as over "overfiram'd, unnatural. Punishunging ?? or Religious Life one oue Oround of it ale'noWazwa Flavia benayer fuch barintenperate Fondbels for all the outward Certminials of Religion, that the will needs proclife them oper with a most forefulous Exactness, the at the expense of many weightier Duties; I am to look upon her Religion as one Species of her natural Prethy in her Temper, which enters into her - religious Occonomy. She is in fadit the define Trifler, and Formalift in her Spiritual -Concerns, that the is in those of her ordidimery Life sed cold roll of the cold w " theder adultered and leading Mixtures yasaSEVERUS therefore Places all Santity And contracted Brow, and a morofe Bebeviour; ng because be has a natural Referve, and Sul--ordenness in his Tomper. The double tolino reflect Lakines to answer to. Mean while, e avade vatas dans dans about herlinor diferent Reproofs; and lottures and morai diver upon the most improper Occasions, standithout any regard to Times, Places of Indep. Whig, po 204. | od sovojmeda sol Perfons;

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## PHILEMON

with your Requed, in laying before you my last Night's Train of Thought.—By

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## HYDASPES:

now break loofs from thefe ferious Ingagemeans, and P.M.I.T. A. H.B. Erdinary Affairs

A SECOND CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS upon the Subject of False Religion.

In which is afferted

The GENERAL LAWFULNESS of PLEASURE;

#### AND

The EXTRAVAGANT SEVERITIES of fome Religious Systems are shewn to be a direct Contradiction to the Natural Appointment and Constitution of Things.

THE THIRD EDITION.

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### PHILEMON

TO

# HYDASPES,

Hydaspes, had I not known you to be very different from the generality of polite People, that you would have been sufficiently tired with so grave a Topic as Religion, after the Recital I had made you of an intire Morning's Conversation carried on professedly upon B

that Subject. Men of Spirit and Vivacity can feldom relish any thing serious long together. A Reflection or two in passing is the most they are ordinarily willing to submit to. I have often been inclin'd to think the awkard Solemnity, with which we are commonly taught Religion makes the thought of it so unpleasant to us ever afterwards. Just as some People contract a Distaste to Letters from illiberal Impresfions of the Harshness and Severity of School-Discipline. Could we but once free Religion from this over-folemn Air, and disperse the false Gloom, which our Nurferies have thrown about it, we might possibly procure it a freer Reception, and more frequent, and familiar Entertainment in the World. It might then be no longer confined to the Recesses of the Cloyster, the Seats of Mopishness, Superstition, and Bigotry; but be fometimes permitted to make its appearance even in good Company; and be brought into some degree of Credit and Reputation amongst the polite and fashionable part of Mankind. It was thus, Hydaspes, that I indeavor'd lately to introduce Religion to your Thoughts, in that freer Air, and more liberal Manner, in which she had been pourtrayed to me by the excellent hand of Hortenfius \*; a Man

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<sup>\*</sup> See a Pamphlet intitled Phil. to Hyd. Part I. who,

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It seems, you are so far from being displeased with the report of our Conference, that you have ingaged me to recollect any farther particulars that might afterwards pass between us, in pursuance of the same Argument. For it could not be, you are of opinion, that a single Morning should have sufficed me to have discussed so copious a Theme, and of which you know me to have so remarkable a Fondness.

Your Conjecture is not ill founded. Having gone so far into the Subject, I was not easily disingag'd from it. I was ever and anon relapsing insensibly into the same train of Thought; pursuing and applying the Principles we had already established; and could scarce converse with any thing so intirely foreign to it, but served in some way or other to renew the Impression.

ONE Afternoon, as Hortenfius and I were taking the air on horseback, What think you, (said he) of our making a visit to my Neighbour Clito? you will find him

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<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Pope's second Sat. of Hor. im. lin. 135.

a very sensible agreable man; I shall be glad to introduce you to his Acquaintance. Besides, you will be much pleas'd with a sight of his Villa; he has been at a considerable expence in the Improvement of it; in which he has shewn himself to be Master of a very polite and genteel Taste. You are a sort of Connoisseur this way, you will have an opportunity of passing your own Judgment upon it.

I could have no Objection (you will imagine) to so agreable a Proposal. About an Hour's ride thro' a very pleasant Country brought us thither. We were received by Clito with an easy Civility, the genuine result of true Politeness. Hortensius would have excus'd the liberty of introducing an intire Stranger, but Clito would hear nothing of that fort: You cannot (said he) oblige me more, Hortensius, than by bringing me into an acquaintance with any Friend of yours.

Our first Ceremonies being over, I soon took occasion to say something of the A-greableness of the Place and Situation, which was such as to strike one at first sight. It was an Instance (I observed) of that good Taste, which seemed indeed to discover itself on all hands, that Clito had made choice of so beautiful a Spot to build

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on; where, without being too much exposed, he had the Command of so fine a Country.

I have often (said he) been surprised, Philemon, considering how much depends upon a good Situation, to find so little regard had to this, where even a prodigal Expense seemed to have been imployed to make every thing else as complete as possible.

'Twas not (observed Hortensius) in every body's power to command equal Advantages this way. Nature might be said to have her favorite spots, to which she was more than ordinarily liberal of her Bounties; and which did, as it were, be-speak Improvement by leaving, if the Paradox might pass, so little room for any.

Were one to judge (returned I) by the Practice of some People, who yet would not be thought to want Taste, one would imagine the reverse of this Rule was to take place. They pitch upon the most barren and desolate Spots to build on, as if the Persection of Art were to cross Nature; and are at infinitely more Expence to make a bad Situation tolerable, than would answer to make a more advantageous one delightful.

Ir

IT is this Vanity of Expense, (replied Hortensius) that puts People upon such unnatural Projects.

Possibly (faid Clito) they are of opinion, that they have more of the Merit of their Designs to themselves, the less they are beholden for any Hints of them to Nature. To cultivate a bleak barren Scene, and give Beauties where Nature feems to have been more than ordinarily sparing of them, they may esteem a fort of voluntary Creation, in which the force of the Artist's own Genius is at full liberty to display itself: whereas in a more advantageous Situation, much of his work is done beforehand, and Art has little clie to do but to affist Nature, to proceed upon those Hints which she suggests, and to follow where she points out the way.

AND to do this with any competent Effect, (said I) may sufficiently exercise the Invention of the most ingenious Designer. Nay, I question whether it be not in some Cases a greater trial of Skill not to destroy, or weaken a natural Beauty, than it can be in others to introduce an artificial one. This I am very sure of, that there is no hope of any considerable Success, where Nature and Art do not go hand in hand. Without

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Without this, whatever other Beauties there may be, a main one will still be wanting; a certain easy Simplicity of Manner, which Nature only can give.

'Tis this (interposed Hortenfius) that I have always thought the great Recommendation of my Friend Clito's Method of designing. Here, Philemon, is none of that fludied Regularity, which displeases by a perpetual Sameness and Repetition of

Grove nods at Grove, each Ally has a Brother, And half the Platform just reflects the other\*.

The poor result of a confined Taste, and a Littleness of Design! But a certain agreable Wildness prevails thro' the whole, which as it resembles Nature in its Beauty, resembles it also in its Use, (a sure mark that it is natural!) by suting itself to the unequal Temper of our Climate, and varying with all the Varieties of our Seasons.

You are very obliging, (said Clito) but take care that by raising your Friend's Expectations too high, Hortensius, you do not prepare him to be more eminently disappointed. Something, 'tis true, of the kind you have been describing is attempted here in little, and indeed the Nature of our

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Pope's Epist. to my Lord Burlington, 115.

English

English Climate, as you rightly observe where a Man may often go to bed in June, and rife in December, makes it not only agreable, but necessary. How well this purpose is really answer'd, Philemon will be best Judge for himself, if he will be at the trouble of looking a little about him.

WITH all my heart, (faid I) Clito, it will be a very particular Pleasure to me, -Accordingly, having first taken a view of the House, in which a general Neatness, Usefulness, and elegant Simplicity, feein'd to have taken place of operofe Grandeur, and a Profusion of Rudied Ornaments and incumber'd Magnificence, we were conducted into the Gardens, where I foon found what Hortenfius had been faying of them, was much more than a Compliment. The Disposition was easy and natural, arifing wholly out of the Genius of the Place; and the feveral Beauties feem'd not so properly brought into it, as refulting from it. The Interchanges of Shade and Opening, level and raised Ground, Garden and Forest, were adjusted with great Art, so as best to relieve and set of each the other; and withal to take in a exclude the view of the Country about us, as either was judged most agreable in the general Plan. Whilst the Eye was taken up with the various Forms of beautiful Objects,

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Objects that presented themselves in their respective Assignments, such as Theatres, Temples, Statues, Urns, Obelisks, the other Senses were as agreably entertained with the multiplied Fragrancies of natural Scents, the warbling Music of Birds, or the soothing Sostness of aquatic Murmurs. In short, Hydaspes, I never saw a more delightful Scene. I was so much taken with it, that we passed the intire remainder of our Visit in rambling there from place to place, 'till the Evening insensibly came upon us.

In our return home, Philemon, (said Hortensias to me) I hope you do not think we have disposed of our Afternoon amis.

FAR from it, (returned I) I never passed one more to my satisfaction. You know I am a great lover of all natural Improvements. Clito has really an excellent turn this way. You are very happy; Horten-sus, in so agreable a Neighbour. He is a Man of strong Sense, and a very polite and improved Conversation.

I have fometimes thought, (replied he)
Philemon, there is a fort of natural Connexion between what is called a fine Tafte of the politer Arts of Life, and a general Polishedness of Manners and inward Character. Men of a refined Imagination have usually

usually a larger way of thinking than others. They discover a Delicacy of Sentiment, and Generosity of Spirit, which less improved Minds are wholly strangers to Should it not seem, Philemon, that being perpetually conversant in the Ideas of natural Beauty, Order, and Proportion, their Tempers insensibly take a Polish from the Objects of their Studies and Contemplations? They transcribe, as it were, something of that Grace and Symmetry they are so fond of in external Subjects into the inward Frame and Disposition of their own Minds \*.

THE

\* As foon, fays the Author of the Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, as a Heart, before hard and obdurate, is foftened in this Flame, (he is speaking of Benevolence) we shall observe, arifing along with it, a Love of Poetry, Music, the Beauty of Nature in rural Scenes, a neat Dress, a bumane Deportment, a Delight in, and Emulation of every thing which is gallant, generous, and friendly. Inquiry p. 258. May not the reverse of this Observation be equally true? This is certain, fays an eminent Writer, that the Admiration and Love of Order, Harmony, and Proportion, in whatever kind, is naturally improving to the Temper, advantageous to focial Affection, and highly affistant to Virtue; which is itself no other than the Love of Order and Beauty in Society. Characteristics, vol. 2. p. 75. Whoever, fays another approved Author, find themselves insenfible to the Charms of Poetry and Music, would, I think, do well to keep their own Counsel; for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodness of their Natures, if not of their Understandings, into question. Sir W. Temple's Miscel. vol.2.

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THE Virtuofi, (said I) Hortensius, are much obliged to you. I wish they were always careful to make good an Observation so much in their favour. I am afraid the polite Arts are sometimes cultivated by Men, who have no great Taste of moral Accomplishments.

THEN they are by no means the Virtuosis they would be esteemed, (returned he.) No Man has a just Claim to this Character, in whom the Virtuoso-Passion, the Love of Beauty, Order, Proportion, does not prevail throughout, and influence his general

p. 62.—Were we to extend this Observation even to the inferior Elegancies of Dress, as infignificant a Particular as it may seem to some People, we should not want a very good Authority in our savour; the polite and philosophic Poet in his Epistle to Macenas, having given a sufficient Sanction to this way of reasoning.

Si curtatus inæquali tonsore capillos Occurri, rides: si forte subucula pexæ

Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga dissidet impar, Rides: quid mea cum pugnat sententia secum?

Hor. Epist. liv. 1. Epist. 1. v. 94.—and upon the same Principle Seneca mentions it as a very strong Proof of Depravity in certain esseminate Characters of his time, that they were offended at little Irregularities in the Oeconomy of their Persons at the same time that they had no Sense of much worse Disorders in real Life and Manners. Quomodo irascuntur, says he, si tonsor paullo negligentior suit? quis est istorum, qui non malit rempublicam suam turbari, quam comam? qui non comptior esse malit, quam honestior?—L. A. Sen. de Brev. Vit. lib. p. 505, 506.

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Having once established a Correctness of Taste and Elegance of Fancy in the Things of outward Grace and Ornament, shall we be such poor and scanty Thinkers, as to give it no scope in Subjects of a nobler kind? shall we be so little consistent with ourselves, as to be inamor'd of the Harmony of Sounds, and have no Sense of inward Numbers, the Measures of Action, the nicer Tones of Passion and Sentiment +? Being Masters of

\* 'Tis upon this Principle the noble Author before referred to fays, He is persuaded that to be a Virtueso, so far as besits a Gentleman, is a Step toward the becoming a Man of Virtue, and good Sense. Charact. vol. 1. 333. And again, 'Tis impossible we can advance the least in any Relish or Taste of ourward Symmetry and Order, without acknowledging that the proportionate and regular State is the truly prosperous and natural in every Subject. Should not this, one would imagine, be still the same Case, and hold equally as to the Mind? Vol. 3. 180, 181. and elsewhere.

† — Non verba sequi sidibus modulanda Latinis: Sed veræ numerosque, modosque, ediscere vitæ.

Hor. Epift. Lib. 2. Epift. 2. V. 143.— Αι μεσαι (fays Mnefithilus in Plutarch) παυταπασιν ήμας μεμψαιντο, ει νομιζομεν αυτων εργον ειναι κιθαραν και αυλες, αλλα μη το παιδευειν τα ηθη, και παρηγορειν τα παθη των χρωμενων μελεσι και άρμονιαις. Con. fep. Sap. 156.

How four sweet Music is, When Time is broke, and no Proportion kept? So is it in the Music of Men's Lives. And here have I the Daintiness of Ear

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a judicious Eye in the Works of Painting and Statuary, shall we be blind to all the Charms of moral Limning, the Proportions of real Life and Manners? Whilst we are scrupulously exact in the Models of our Houses, the Disposition of Ornaments, the Ordering of Gardens, Avenues, Plantations, shall we have no regard to the living Architecture of our own Minds? no thought of inward Imbellishment? no Taste of the more beautifut Oeconomy of a human Heart, the Order and Disposition of its Affections? Never furely can our Imagination rest wholly in the mere mechanic and sensible Forms of Beauty; seeing there is provided for it a far more refined Entertainment in the Theory of moral Excellence. For no where, Philemon, does the Charm of Beauty so forcibly prevail as in the moral Species. "Tis to this the Virtuoso must have recourse for the bigbest Gratifications of his own favorite Paffion. Virtue alone is the Truth and Perfection of Virtuosoship. And as abstracted a way of reasoning as it may be thought, 'tis however a very just one; that a correct Imagination and a diffolute Character are the greatest Contradictions in

To hear Time broke in a disorder'd String:
But for the Concord of my State and Time
Had not an Ear to hear my true Time broke!
Shakespear's Life and Death of Richard the second.
A very just and pathetic Reproach this to himself!

the

the World \*. "Tis thus, Philemon, that I have sometimes been led to consider the Virtuoso-Arts as a more refined and disguised sort of moral Discipline; by which Men of freer Spirits are sometimes unawares trained up to a sense of Duty and inward Worth, who would never be prevailed upon to listen to a more direct and formal method of Instruction.

A happy way of moralizing this indeed, (faid I) Hortenfius! to learn our Duty in our very Pleasures; and extract Wisdom and Virtue even from the Luxuries and Elegancies of Life! But how then is it that we often find the Masters of Morality representing these things in so very different a Light? They are so far from considering them as Means or Helps to Virtue, that they will not even allow them to be so much as compatible with it; a great part of our Duty consisting, as they tell us, in

\* Let such Gentlemen as these (of Taste) be as extravagant as they please, or as irregular in their Morals, they must at the same time discover their Inconsistency, live at variance with themselves, and in contradiction to that Principle, on which they ground their highest Pleasure or Entertainment. Charact. Vol. I. 136.—For all Vice is Disorder, Consustant, and a perpetual Discord of Life—Assure, with disconvenit ordine toto—is its true Character. In vain is the Love of Order, Proportion, Symmetry, pretended in the midst of such flagrant Incongruities.

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I know no Authority they have to fay fo, (replied Hortenfius:) there is certainly nothing in the nature of the things themselves, that determines the Use of them to be unlawful. That it may be so in particular Cases is owing to accidental Circumstances; and is no more than may be faid of the best and most innocent things in the The most improved Elegancies of Life are no more immoral in themselves than its cheapest and coarsest Accommodations. There is as little Crime in building a Palace to some People, as there is to others in raising a Cottage. Painting and Gilding and other ornamental Arts are as allowable in their own nature, as the use of Dirt or For " what greater Immorality is " there, as an ingenious Author expresses it, " in the Work of the finest Chizel, or the " nicest Plane, than in that of an Ax or a " Saw \*?" Moreover, to what purpose can we imagine the Skill and Capacity of Mankind to improve and better their Condition of Being to have been given them, if they are not at liberty to make use of it? In short, Philemon, there can be no Argu-

<sup>\*</sup> Inquiry whether a general Practice of Virtue tends to the Wealth or Poverty of a People. Sect. 3. p. 36.

thent of the absolute Unlawfulness even of what you call the Luxuries of Life, but may be urged with equal Force against the most ordinary Comforts, I had almost said the very Necessaries of it. For these can only differ in Degree, not in Kind; and is it be allowed us to provide for the Happiness of our present Being in a less degree, it will be difficult to give a Reason why we should not do so in a greater; even in the greatest we are capable of. I speak in general, and not of particular Cases and Circumstances.

I am glad, (said I) Hortensius, to find you of opinion that Pleasure and Virtue are such good Friends. I thought they had been always represented as in the Grecian Fable, drawing quite different ways \*. I am sure I could mention some Writers in Morality, who lay as great a stress upon Self-denial, as if it was indeed the very Essence of all Virtue. And yet when one considers the Matter closely, one cannot but suspect there must be some Essence in the Account; for if Self-denial, as such, have any Merit in it, the Conse-

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<sup>\*</sup> Ευνοεις ω Ήρακλεις, (ή κακια υπολάδυσα ειπι) ως χαλεπην και μακραν οδου επι τας ευΦροσυνας ή γυη σοι αυτη διηγειται. Εγω δε ραδιαν και Εραχειαν οδοι επι την ευδαιμονιαν αξω σε. Χεη. Μεπ. Soc. lib. 2: quence

quence is unavoidable, that the greater Self-denial, the greater Degree of Virtue. But this is more than they themselves will admit of; and indeed it is a Notion that leads to infinite Absurdities.

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Not greater (said Hortensius) than have been actually practiced in many parts of the World upon this very Principle. The Austerities to which People have submitted upon a salse Persuasion of Religion are almost as incredible, as they are shocking.

I could wish (said I) we might examine a little more particularly into the Merits of this Question; and inquire upon what foundation a Persuasion so extravagant in itself, and so mischievous in its Consequences to the Peace and Happiness of Mankind, should yet have so commonly prevailed in the World.

AT present (replied Hortensius) we are too near home to enter upon so large a Topic. We will adjourn it, if you please, till to-morrow Evening; when, if the Weather prove favorable for our walking as usual, it may afford us no unuseful matter of Entertainment.

D PART



### PART II.

S great a Friend as you know me to be, Hydaspes, to fair Weather and Sunshine, believe me I never gave it a more fincere welcome than upon looking out the next Morning. The greatest part of the Day we were obliged to attend fome Company that came in upon us. But the Interruptions of other Subjects could not keep my Thoughts from glancing often upon that which we had so lately entered upon, and which was by agreement to imploy our Evening's Speculation. Infomuch that I was fometimes, I am afraid, less attentive to the general Conversation that was carrying on, than I could well justify to myself in point of Good-Breeding and Civility. When the Afternoon was pretty far advanc'd, our Vifitants who came from fome distance, were obliged to leave us. Hortenfius had little more than time to give forne necessary Orders in his Family, before the Heat of the Day was enough worn off to invite us abroad, in one of the most delightful Evenings I have ever known.

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I was going to remind him of the Point he had ingaged to speak to, when I found myself very agreably prevented by his breaking into it of his own accord in the following manner. The Stillness of the Evening, (faid he) Philemon, is at all times a very confiderable Help to ferious Reflection. It fooths and composes our Thoughts, and throws the Mind into a State of Peace and Tranquillity analogous to that of itself. But never furely can the Advantages of it be more conspicuous than in the Disquisition we are now to enter upon concerning the general Lawfulness of Pleafure; seeing it does itself abound with so many refined and exquifite Entertainments necessarily offering themselves to our Sense, as may in great measure decide the Point to our hands, and render all other Proofs fuperfluous. How charming, Philemon, appears the whole Face of Nature about us! What an uniform Variety in those natural Landscapes! what a delightful Melody in the Woods! what an agreable Verdure in the Meadows! what a cooling Freshness in the Air! what an exquifite Fragrancy in the mingled Scents of Shrubs and Flowers! whilst, as Milton elegantly speaks,

Fanning their odoriferous Wings dispense

D 2

Native

Native Perfumes, and whisper whence they

Stole
Their balmy Spoils \*.

Above all, Philemon, what an inimitable Scene of Beauty is now offering itself to our Observation in the View of yonder setting Sun innobled with 'all that diverfity of finely painted Clouds, which, as if desirous to continue his Presence amongst us, feem, as it were, to retard the parting Ray, and give it back again to our Sight in those multiplied Reflexions, which adorn the Western Horizon! At the same time, behold there in the East the Moon's more sober Light + beginning to disclose itself! See her rifing, as the same divine Milton has it, in clouded Majesty | ! And as the Strength of Day-light gradually wears away, preparing to introduce the milder Graces of the Evening! Who can reflect on the delightful Vicistitude, and not feel a fecret Transport springing up in his Breast, the Expression of a devout Gratitude towards the beneficent Author of his Happiness? But how, Philemon, does the Rapture yet grow upon us, when, borrowing Helps from a more improved Philosophy, we confider the Glories we are now fur-

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<sup>\*</sup> Par. Lost, Book IV. 155. † Mr. Pope's Epist. of the Char. of Women, 158, || Par. Lost, B. IV. 606, 7.

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yeying, not as confined to the little Globe of our Earth, to the Observation of a few retired Speculatists bere like ourselves; but that a Scene of the same kind may probably in every conceivable Moment of Duration be presenting itself to some or other of the rational Inhabitants of those numberless Worlds which lie diffused in the wide Expanses of Æther; and be entertaining the curious Spectator of Nature in Regions of so immense a Distance from our own, that the Imagination turns giddy at the very thought of it! For who shall presume to fet bounds to the Productions of infinite Power actuated by infinite Benevolence? Who shall circumscribe the Theatre upon which an Omnipotent Goodness may think proper to display itself? Questionless those sparkling Fires which are preparing to roll over our Heads have a nobler Use than barely to spangle our particular Hemisphere; a Benefit which every passing Cloud can deprive us of!——How much more rational is it to confider them as the feveral Suns of different Systems of Planets, dispensing to them the invaluable Comforts of Light, and Heat, and refreshing Influences; and in particular affording them the grateful Returns of Day and Night, whose mutual Interchanges may contribute, as they do with us, to relieve and recommend each the other?

I am intirely of your Opinion, (faid I) Hortenfius; the Contemplation of Nature in rural Scenes is one of the most delightful Entertainments that the Mind of Man is capable of. Pleasures of this kind, if they have not so much of Tumult in them as the sprightlier Joys of the mis-named Voluptuous, have much more of real Satisfaction, Moreover, they leave a good Relish behind them when they are past; and, which is of much higher Confideration, are calculated to improve, as well as entertain our Thoughts. They refine our Spirits, and humanize our Tempers; foften the Mind into a Forgetfulness of Wrath, Malice, and every turbulent and disquieting Paffion \*; give amiable Impressions of Na-

long torment his Breaft, whom not only the greatest and noblest Objects, but every Sand, every Pebble, every Grass, every Earth, every Fly can divert? to whom the return of every Season, every Month, every Day, do suggest a Circle of most pleasant Resections! If the Ancients prescribed it as a sufficient Remedy against such violent Passions only to repeat the Alphabet over, whereby Leisure was given to the Mind to recover itself from any sudden Fury, then how much more effectual Medicines against the same Distempers may be setched from the whole Alphabet of Nature, which represents itself to our Consideration in so many infinite Volumes! Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Soc. p. 345.

ture, In inlarg'd Tafte of Friendsh with out and Con

OF Hortenfi to refine

\* Tho Nature fe its kindest much in t ness of Lo †'Tis wards other with ourse Mind, the vantages. Pleasures t has Satisfad the Vulgar -He lo ther Light that conce kind. Spe eye on all t we shall fir Whatever with a con to fill then those ill In will certain

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cepts of the

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ture, Mankind, and a Deity\*; inspire an inlarg'd Sense of public Good, an exquisite Taste of Liberty, Humanity, and private Friendship. They put us in good Humor with ourselves, and with the general Scheme and Constitution of Things +.

OF all natural Speculations (refum'd Hortenfius) there is none more calculated to refine and humanize the Mind, to give

\* Those who have a Relish of the Beauties of Nature seem to converse, as it were, with Deity in its kindest and most ingaging Appearances; not so much in the Majesty of Omnipotence, as in the Mild-

ness of Love and Benignity.

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† 'Tis observable, we are never so well inclined towards other People, as when we are most in humor with ourselves. In respect of this happy Frame of Mind, the Man of polite Imagination has great Advantages. He injoys a much larger Range of innocent Pleasures than lies within the ordinary Compass. He has Satisfactions of the most exquisite kind, with which the Vulgar, great and fmall, are wholly unacquainted. -He looks upon the World, as it were, in another Light, and discovers it in a multitude of Charms. that conceal themselves from the Generality of Mankind. Spect. Vol. VI. No. 411. - If we cast an eye on all the Tempests which arise within our Breasts, we shall find that they are chiefly produc'd by Idleness. Whatever shall be able to busy the Minds of Men with a constant Course of innocent Amusements, or to fill them with as vigorous and pleafant Images, as those ill Impressions by which they are deluded, it will certainly have a furer effect in the composing and purifying of their Thoughts, than all the rigid Precepts of the Stoical, or the empty Distinctions of the Peripatetic Moralists. Sprat's Hist. R. S. 343.

it

it an inlarged and liberal Sense of Things than the Theory of the heavenly Bodies as it is opened to us by the modern Philo. fophy \*. How does it beat down the little Pride of Conquest, the Triumphs of Ambition, the Glories of Empire, tho' we were Masters of them to a far greater degree than ever fell within the compass of any human Prowess, to consider, that not this or that particular Spot or Country only, but the whole Earth itself, the most extended Scene of fublunary Greatness the even the Wantonness of Imagination can figure to us, is no more than a fingle Point in the Immensity of the Universe +! And that an Alexander, or a Cafar, after all the

\* What room can there be for low and little thing in a Mind so nobly imployed? What ambitious Difquiets can torment that Man, who has so much Glory before him? Sprat's Hist. 345.

+ We are told by Plutarch that it had this Effect upon Alexander, when he heard the Philosopher reafoning concerning a Plurality of Worlds. Alegarδρο Αναξαρχε περι κοσμων απειριας ακουων εδακρυέ, και των Φιλων ερωτωντων ο, τι πεπουθεν, ουκ αξιον (εΦη) δακρυείν, ει κοσμων οντων απε:ρων, ενώ ουδεπω χυριά yeyovanev; De An. trang. p. 466.

His Conduct upon this Occasion is well exposed by

the Satirist-

Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis: Estuat infelix angusti limite mundi,

Ut Gyaræ claufus scopulis, parvaque Seripho.-And the Reflection he makes upon it is very moral and judicious. Juv. Sat. X. lib. 4. 168.

fine thing and Hil at his I Pope for with a the Pag of flatte the Eye low and their An had bee selves in thers, C Rattle \* ployed, as innoce

> \* The this Hero himself to fevere Sar

Ut p + Thi first Boo malum et & civiun multum gare? qu fi ferpent daretur immanit est etiam riis quide æquo ha

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fine things that are faid of them by Poets and Historians, the one with all Greece at his Devotion, and the other, as Mr. Pope somewhere excellently paints him, with a Roman Senate at bis beels, in all the Pageantry of Victory, the Exultation of flattered Success, might yet appear to the Eye of fuperior Intelligences as really low and little, with regard to the scope of their Ambition, as if, like Children, they had been all the while laying out themselves in pursuit of a rich Plume of Feathers, or inamoured of the Music of a Rattle \*! Alas that being full as idly imployed, they should not have been likewise as innocently so +!

Bur

\* The Poet thought he had sufficiently reproached this Hero-Madness, when he upbraidingly addressed himself to one of great Character that way in this very severe Sarcasm——

-I demens, & Savas curre per Alpeis

Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias. Ibid. 166.

† This Thought is finely touched by Seneca in his first Book de Clementia.—Quod istud, Dii boni, malum est, occidere, sævire, delectari sono catenarum, & civium capita decidere, quocumque ventum est multum sanguinis sundere, aspectu suo terrere, ac sugare? quæ alia vita esset, si leones ursique regnarent? si serpentibus in nos, & noxiosissimo cuique animali daretur potestas? illa rationis expertia, & a nobis immanitatis crimine damnata, abstinent suis; & tuta est etiam inter seras similitudo: horum ne a necessariis quidem rabies temperat sibi, sed externa, suaque, in æquo habet, quo possit, exercitatior a singulorum cædibus, deinde in exitia gentium serpere, nullum ornamentum

But not to insist, Philemon, upon the many excellent Moralities to which Thoughts of this nature evidently lead us, (tho' this, it must be owned, is no inconsiderable support of our main Principle, by representing to us some of the noblest Satisfactions of Life, as connected with the highest moral Improvements of it \*) let us consider

mentum Principis fastigio dignius pulchriusque est, quam illa corona ob cives servatos. Non hostilia arma detracta victis; non currus barbarorum sanguine cuenti; non parta bello spolia. Hæc divina potentia est, gregatim ac publice servare: multos autem occidere, & indiscretos, incendii, ac ruinæ potentia est. Sm. de Clementia Lib 1. ap. sinem. ——A very good modern Author has adopted this humane Sentiment, and given it a very beautiful Turn thus——

The Grecian Chief, Enthusiast of his Pride, With Rage and Terror stalking by his side, Raves round the Globe; he soars into a God! Stand fast Olympus, and sustain his Nod. The Pest divine in horrid Grandeur reigns, And thrives on Mankind's Miseries and Pains. And cannot thrice ten hundred Years unpraise The boist rous Boy, and blast his guilty Bays? Why want we then Encomiums on the Storm, Or Famine, or Volcano? they perform Their mighty Deeds; they Hero like can slay, And spread their ample Desarts in a Day.

\* The Antients plainly had this Notion of natural Contemplations, and confider them as having a moral Use and Tendency. So Tully tells us, that the Order and Regularity of external Nature is intended as a Model for the Imitation of Mankind in their private and particular System. Ipse autem Homo ortus est

fider the more obv tural Fo Man mu become a before he Nature: No foon numberle themselve the Arra rounding tention; as was fa Beauty \* unimpair entertain natural Woods, Falls of

> nd mundu Deorum, that Passagi immortale essent, qui rentur eur p. 448. 21 Περισχοπει πας των σ

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eft ad fider the Constitution of Things in its more obvious Appearance, merely as a natural Foundation of Pleasure to us. Man must have lost his very Senses, and become a piece of uninform'd Mechanism, before he can behold the chearful Face of Nature with Coldness and Indifferency. No fooner does he open his Eyes, but numberless gay Scenes immediately display themselves to his view; the various Forms, the Arrangements, the Colorings of furrounding Objects instantly strike his Attention; and all Nature appears to him, as was faid of the Author of it, in perfect Beauty \*. Whilft his Hearing continues unimpaired, he will be often very agreably entertained with grateful Sounds in the natural Music of Birds, the Fannings of Woods, the Purling of Streams, or the Falls of Water. In spight of the most fullen Sanctity, which would deprive him

ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum. De Nat. Deorum, Lib. II. p. 142,3. ed. Dav.—Parallel to that Passage in his Treatise de Senectute—Credo Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui cælestium ordinum contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo atque constantia—ed. Græv. p. 448. 21. To the same purpose M. Antoninus advises, Περισκοπειν ας ρων δρομες, ώσπερ συμπεριθεοντα, και τας των σοιχειων εις αλληλα μεταδολας συνεχως εν-νοειν, αποκαθαιρισι γαρ αι τετων Φαντασιαι τον ρυπου τε χαμαι βιε. Lib. 7. 47. Ibid. Lib. 11. 27.

\* Pfalm. 50. 1.

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will be sometimes unavoidably refreshed with cooling Breezes, or cheared with delicious Odors. The Benefits of Light, and Sunshine, healthful Air, and kindly Seasons, must force many very sensible Satisfactions upon him, whether he will or not; and by a merciful Violence often constrain him to be bappy \*. Even the appointed means of preserving Life itself must let in upon him many comfortable Sensations; nor can he satisfy the necessary Demands of his animal Nature, without a considerable Indulgence and Gratification of it +. So largely has an all-bountiful Cre-

\* Non dat Deus beneficia. Unde ergo ista qua possides? quæ das? quæ negas? quæ servas? quæ npis? unde hæc innumerabilia, oculos, aureis, animum mulcentia? Si domus tibi donetur, in qua marmoris aliquid resplendeat, & tectum nitidius auro aut coloribus sparsum, non mediocre munus vocabis: ingens tibi domicilium, fine ullo incendii aut ruinæ metu, struxit, in quo vides non tenues crustas, sed integras lapidis pretiolissimi moles, sed totas variæ distinctæque materiæ, cujus tu parvula frufta miraris; tectum vero aliter nocte, aliter interdiu fulgens. Sen. de Ben. Lib. 4. cap. 5. 6. — It is very manifest, that the Author of Nature is fo far from forbidding us Entertainments, that he has put it out of our power not to injoy them in great plenty and variety, by making almost every thing about us so gay and delightful. Campbell's APETH-AOFIA, p. 110. and elsewhere. Spect. Vol. 5. No. 387. 393.

† Unde illa luxuriam quoque instruens copia? neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum of every morofe ar rule the but ever their own disappoin

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fum eft: ator provided for the Happiness and Good of every sensitive Being, that no Efforts of morose and peevish Virtue can entirely over-rule the benevolent Constitution of Nature, but even the most ingenious Artificers of their own Misery shall be often unavoidably disappointed.

est: usque in delicias amamur, tot arbusta, non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ falutares, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digestæ, ut inerti quoque fortuita terræ alimenta præberent, jam animalia omnis generis—ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum aliquod nobis conferret—unde ifta palatum tuum faporibus exquisitis ultra fatietatem lacessentia? unde hæc irritamenta jam lassæ voluptatis? Sen. ubi supra.-Nevertheless the fensual Pleasures of Taste are the least part of that Happiness to which our Appetites of Hunger and Thirst are intended to lead us. are the Foundation of many focial Exercises, and moral Entertainments. Ou yap ws alyeron nxer xomigwo έαυτου εμπλησαι προς το δειπνου ο ναυ έχων, αλλα και σπεδασαι τι και παιξαι, και ακέσαι, και ειπειν, ο ο χαιρος παρακαλέι της συνοντας, ει μελλησι μετ αλληλων ήδεως εσεσθαι. Plut. con. fept. Sap. 147. — Ουκου εργου ες ι το Διούυσο μεθη και οινω, αλλ' ήν εμποιέσι δια τετων ΦιλοΦροσυνήν, και ποθον, και όμιλιαν ήμιν, και συνηθειαν προς αλληλες. ibid. 156. As a Proof of this, could any Man be pleafed with a Company of Statues furrounding his Table fo artfully contrived as to confume his various Courses, and inspired by some Servant, like so many Puppets, to give the usual trifling Returns in praise of their Fare? Inquiry into Orig. &c. p. 236.

\* This Profusion of the finest Delights spread all over the Heavens and the Earth can never be counted vicious or criminal, since the Author of Nature has made it plainly inevitable. APETH-AOFIA, p. 110.

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ONE would think, (interposed I) Hora tensius, that Happiness was not so very uninviting a Form, that Men should need to be thus over-ruled, as it were, to imbrace it. Yet fuch is the perverse Blindness of Superstition, that it even takes a Merit to itself in rejecting as far as may be the offered Good, and throwing back the Favours of indulgent Heaven upon its hands as not worth acceptance. A strange way of recommending itself to the Deity, by fighting, as it were, continually against him \*! Whilst, as you rightly have observed, if there be any Meaning in natural Language, the whole Voice of Things univerfally reclaims to the preposterous Devotion.

WE may imagine (replied he) that the kind Author of the Universe, foreseeing what uncouth Pains some gloomy Spirits would take to bring Misery upon themselves under a fond Persuasion of doing him service by it, has, in pity to their deluded Apprehensions, constituted almost

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<sup>\*</sup> Superstitio error insanus est: amandos timet, quos colit, violat. Sen. Epist. 123. ap. sinem. For what else is it but to affront and injure the Deity, for the Superstitious to imagine, as Plutarch speaks, Φοδερου το ευμενες, και τυραννικου το πατρικου; και δλαδερου, το κηδεμονικου, και το αμικτου αγριου και βηριωδες; De Super. 167.

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every thing about us a necessary Source of Pleasure to the human Breast, on purpose in some degree to counterbalance the Effects of such unnatural Perverseness: insomuch that a Man must throw up his very Being itself, who would entirely exclude every joyous Sensation. And thus does the Ascetic-Principle at last defeat its own ends; since it can no otherwise fill up the Measure of our Mortification, than by depriving us of the very Capacity of it. The same extravagant Self-denial that gives the final Stroke to our Happiness, by a fortunate Inconsistence with itself, determining our Virtue like-wise.

Bur we are by no means got to the bottom of this Argument. Hitherto we have dwelt only on the Surface or Outfide of things. If we descend a little into the Philosophy of those several delightful Perceptions which Nature fo liberally administers to us, we shall discover a more exquisite Apparatus in the Oeconomy of our fenfible Pleasures than is generally, I believe, apprehended. There is no one of our Senses that affords us so large a Variety of pleasing Ideas as our Sight. 'Tis to this we are indebted for all that abundant Profusion of natural Beauty that adorns the whole visible Creation. Now what are the several Colorings of outward Objects, those

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every thing about us a necessary Source of Pleasure to the human Breast, on purpose in some degree to counterbalance the Effects of such unnatural Perverseness: insomuch that a Man must throw up his very Being itself, who would entirely exclude every joyous Sensation. And thus does the Ascetic-Principle at last defeat its own ends; since it can no otherwise fill up the Measure of our Mortification, than by depriving us of the very Capacity of it. The same extravagant Self-denial that gives the final Stroke to our Happiness, by a fortunate Inconsistence with itself, determining our Virtue like-wise.

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( 32 )

those magnificent Shews and Apparitions that on all hands present themselves to our View; those Lights and Shades of Nature's Pencil, that so agreably diversify the gene. ral Face of the Universe? what, I say, are they, Philemon, but a fet of arbitrary Modifications of the perceiving Mind, to which the feveral Objects themselves have not the least Resemblance \*? For what Agreement is there in the nature of the thing between a certain particular Bulk, Figure, or Motion of the infensible parts of external Matter, the only real Qualities of the feveral visible Bodies that so variously entertain our Sight, and our Ideas of Light and Colors? and yet what a joyless and uncomfortable Figure would these things make to us, if we faw them in their naked and philosophic Realities! What a large field of Pleasure and Admiration would be lost to us, were all the masterly Touches of natural Painting, the variegated Scenery of Heaven and Earth, at once to disappear, and an undistinguished Blot to overspread the universal System! To what purpose then fuch a prodigal Expence of Art and Ornament in the Furniture of this flupendous Theatre of Nature, but to charm the ravished Sense of the intended Spectator by

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<sup>\*</sup> See Locke's Effay con. Hum. Und. chap. 8.

((33)) the prospect of these imaginary Glories ! We may purfix this Speculation yet farther The Perceptions of our Tafte and Small, the Ideas of Sounds, from which are derived all the inchancing Powers of Harmony, an Entertainment which fome have thought worthy of Heaven itself, the Sensations of Heat and Cold, and divers other Affections of our Touch, are quite wher things in our Minds from what they are in the feveral exciting Objects. Providence, as if the real Qualities of Bodies were roo fearty a Foundation of Pleasure to the human Senfe, has superadded to them many imaginary Properties and Powers of affecting us; in order to inlarge the Sphere of our Bleffings, and in a more eminent Degree to indear to us the Relish of our present Being

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delightfully loft and bewilder'd in a pleafing Delufion, and we walk about like the Hero of a Romance.

Also No. 387. Vol. 5.

<sup>+</sup> Lock. Spect. as before.

fupply of Comforts to human Life than the Improvements of Agriculture; and a the fame time there is not a finer piece of Landscape than the View of a fertile Com. try richly diversify'd with the several Pro. ducts of natural Grain; whose agreable Wavings add Novelty to their other Charms and entertain us no less with the Variety of the Scene, than with the inimitable Beauty of it. The feveral kinds of Plantation are at once useful and entertaining to the Owners of them. They not only throw a Man's whole Estate into a Garden, as the Spectator speaks, but by a happy Union of the agreable and beneficial improve his Possessions, as well as his Prospect. Who fees not, as the fame Author, I remembe, goes on, that a Mountain Shaded with Oaks, or a Marsh overgrown with Willows, are both more advantageous and more beautiful, than either of them in their uncultivated State \*?

And yet, (I could not avoid interrupting) Hortensius, so careful has the great Disposer of things been that no part of his Works should pass unrecommended to us, that even the seeming Wildnesses and Inperfections of Nature, as Marshes, Deserts, Rocks, Precipices, are not without their

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charms velty, as with the may be graceful terspersed render the exquisite

IT mot only fections, Reason first Important Ruins, It bled Ocean dead Mod Magnification from the own perfection from the less | 1.

<sup>\*</sup> Spect. Vol. 6. No. 414

<sup>\*</sup> Steet.

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Charms; they entertain us with their Novelty, and Magnificence at least, if not with their Beauty . And moreover they may be confidered as Foils to the more graceful parts; or as Discords happily interspersed in the Composition of things, to render the general Harmony of Nature more exquifite and inchanting.

Ir may be added, (returned he) that not only Irregularities and feeming Imperfections, but even Horrors themselves, when Reason or Experience has removed the first Impressions of our Fear, are no small Foundation of Pleasure to us: as Fire, Ruins, Hurricanes, a stormy Sky, a troubled Ocean, a wild Beaft in chains, or a dead Monster +: either from the natural Magnificence, or Novelty of the Objects that excite them, as in the last Article; or from the agreable Contemplation of our own personal Safety; whilst they are con-. fidered by us as at once dreadful and barmless ||.

\* Steet. Vol. 6. 412, 5. 387.

† Hutch. Inquiry, p. 72. | Spect. Vol. 6. No. 418 . 418, Luretius was well acquainted with this Source of Pleasure, as may be seen in his fecond Book:

Suave mari magno, turbantibus aquera ventis, E terra alterius magnum spettare laborem: Non quia vexari quemquam est ine anda volusi. Sed, quibus ipfe malie carege and some ... were suave eft.

Lib. II. I. WHAT

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What an amiable Scene of things, (and I) do these Reflections open to our Views those parts of Nature which are more immediately adapted to our Entertainment of our Use, are as common, as they are beneficial. The seeming Deviations from either, (besides that it is probable they have a real, tho' more remote Connection with both) are not only, sew, and extraordinary, but moreover this very Circumstance of their being so, by gratifying our Taste of Novelty, gives them a sort of relative Agreableness.

In the feeming Imperfections of external Nature (refumed Hortenfius) are thus beautifully instrumental to our greater Pleafure, much more may this be faid of those of our own private and personal System, the Imperfections of our Senjes, and Powers of Perception: It has been often, and very justly, observed by Writers in behalf of a Providence, that a more improved State of our bodily Organs would in the present Situation of things not only deprive us of feveral Advantages we are now possessed of, but convert some of our greatest Pleasures into the most exquisite Torments. While, as it is admirably represented by the incomparable Author of the Effay on Man, were our feeling increased to a more delicate Sense, we should only become.

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What a delightful and entertaining Scene, Philemon, is even now displaying infelf to our Observation; in this spacious Canopy of Heaven inriched with an Infinity of thining Orbs that thed their benign Influences upon our Heads, and make Night aufpicious and yet we are indebted for all this beautiful Representation of things to the Imperfection of our Sight in discerning Distances. How else could we delude ourselves with imagining the several Bodies that compose it, Bodies of such infinitely varied Magnitudes, and Distances from each other, to be as so many lucid Points in the Circumference of a great concave Sphere +? But however we are deceived

† Hutch, Inquir. p. 20.

Pope's Effay on Man, I. 189. How, fays an eminent Writer, could we fuffain the Prefiure of our very Clothes in such a Condition; much less carry Burthens and provide for Conveniences of Life? we could not bear the Assault of an Insect, or a Feather, or a Puff of Air without Pain. There are Examples now of wounded Persons, that have roared for Anguish and Torment at the Discharge of Ordnance, tho at a very great distance; what insupportable Torture then should we be under upon a like Concussion in the Air, when all the whole Body would have the Tenderness of a Wound? Bentley's Boyle's Lect, Serm. 3. p. 99.

by this Appearance, 'tis a Deception greatly in our favour; and whoever should inlarge the Sphere of our Vision, would lessen that of our Entertainment.

To

This Observation may be carried much farther; it to the Imperfection of our Sight that a great deal of that Beauty we discern in outward Objects is owing. If our Eye was so acute as to rival the finest Microscopes, it would make every thing appear rugged and deformed: the most finely polished Crystal would be uneven and rough; the Sight of our own selves would affright us. Bent. p. 97.—So likewise was our Hearing increased proportionably, every Breath of Wind would incommode us: we should have no Sleep in the filentest Nights and most solitary Places: we must inevitably be struck deaf or dead with the Noise of a Clap of Thunder. Bent. p. 98.—Nay the Author of the excellent Essay goes yet farther, and says of Man,

And stunder'd in his opening Ears, And stunded him with the Music of the Spheres, How would he wish that Heav'n had left him still The whish ring Zephyr, and the purling Rill?

There is a very material Use of the present Conflitstion of our Senses yet behind. Had we a microscopic, Eye, we could not see at one view above the sp of an Inch, and it would take a considerable time to furvey the mountainous Bulk of our own Bodies. Bent. p. 97. We should be literally, what a ludicrous Author makes his fabulous Voyager to have appeared to the Inhabitants of a certain Island, to ourfelves and one another, so many Men-Mountains. We might inspect a Mite with great Curiosity, but could neither comprehend the Heavens, nor any other Objects of our prefent Sight. Or if our Hearing were more exquisite, what Confusion and Inconvenience would it introduce into civil Life? Whilpers might then be as justly criminal, as they have been made so by

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To pass on to another Topic. --- We have already, Philemon, confidered the Love of Novelty as it is calculated to give pleasure to certain Objects, that have otherwife little or none in themselves \*; let us inquire next how it feems to affect fuch as confessedly have the greatest. 'Tis a wellknown Truth, that the Eye is not fatisfied with seeing, nor the Ear with bearing +. Possession from cloys and fatigues the Sense, and Change is a necessary Requisite to lasting Satisfaction. Nay fo intoxicated are we often with this fickle Paffion, as to give up a greater good in purchase of a less, meerly because it is an untried one. In the mean while, however we may pervert the Passion to our detriment in particular Instances, the general Use and Defign of it is remarkably beneficial to us. Providence, having made every thing in fome way or other the means of Good to Man, forbids him to dwell long upon the fame Objects, in order that he may more fully experiment this comfortable Truth, and by different Applications tafte the varied Good that is so liberally provided for him.

by some merciles Tyrants.—What Affairs that most require it, could be transacted with Secrecy? Bent. Pope, as before.

<sup>\*</sup> Spect. Vol. 6. No. 412. † Ecclef. ch. 1. v. 8.

You was hinting, (faid I) Horrerfus, forme time ago at the Angular Kindnes of Befrehment, and Complacency, to the Use of those ordinary Means of Subfiftunce, by which particular and individual Life is appointed to be furtained. The Observation is yet made eminently true of thoic more mysterious ones by which is provided for the Continuance and Propagation of the Species of Mankind. Nature has given a very high Relish of Pleasure to the Consurrence of the Sexes, in order, no doubt to counterbalance the unavoidable Inconveniences of Marriage; to Awarten the Pangs of Child-birth, to recommend the Fatigues of domestic Concerns, of the Care of Offspring, of the Education and Settlement of a Family; and moreover to be the Foundation and the Coment of those musiberleis tender Sympathies, mutual Inderments, and Reciprocations of Love between the married Parties themselves, which make up not the Morality only, but own the chief Happiness of Conjugal Life , and at the Envy of which, in forementable an Exemplification of it, as the Condition of the first Parents of Mankind in represented to have been by the tender and pufficult Milton, 'tis no wonder their great Briefly

· Hutch. Inquir. 256, 259.

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should turn aside from beholding their mutual Caresses, as unable to indure the Pain of his malicious Resentment at such superior Delicacy of Injoyment.

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An Image of such exquisite Force and Beauty this, that the fondest Lovers of Antiquity may be challeng'd to produce its Parallel in the most approved Writers of any Age or Country!

AND yet, Philemon, (replied he) as careful as our Creator has been to keep off any unjust Stain from an Institution so wisely adapted to all the Purposes of human Condition, and which draws us no less forcibly by the Charm of the highest moral, than sensible Pleasures; he has not been able to screen it from the Reproaches and Calumnies of fuperstitious and enthusiastic Zealots in all Ages, who have done their utmost to depreciate Marriage as a low and carnal State, unworthy the pious Heroism of those refined Spirits, who scorning to act their part well as mere Men, afpire to the Life of Angels; and renouncing the dull and sottish Pleasures of Sense, affect a more acceptable Obedience to Heaven

<sup>†</sup> Milton's Par, Loft, B. IV. 1, 502,

in imaginary Exercises of greater Purity and Perfection tunistics of all said en esteries bui The last of the second second

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\* This Notion feems to have been pretty general amongst the earliest Christian Writers: at least this is the most favorable Construction one can put upon many of their very harsh Expressions upon this Subject. Thus Justin Martyr calls Marriage Town & emigu μιας ανομον γαμον. ap. Grabe Spicileg, Patrum, Tom.2. p. 180. And again tells us, was o Kups of how lyon Xpis & di addo to ex map Seve etex In, add' iva xa-דמף אחדון צישוחדון בחושינומן משפעות, אמו לבוציו סדו אמו לוצם συνεσιας ανθρωπινής δυνάτην είναι τω Θεω την ανθρωπε Ibid. p. 180, 181: & alibi .- Ironaus foesting of the Law of Divorce amongst the Jews as a matter indulged them, because of the Hardness of their Hearts, not fimply right in itself, considers the lawful Use of Marriage under the new Testament in the same light. -Et quid dicimus de Veteri Testamento hæc? quandoquidem & in novo Apostoli hoc idem facientes inveniantur propter prædictam causam, statim dicente Paulo; bac autem ego dico, non Dominus. Et iterum, boc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum praceptum? Lib. 4. cap. 15. (vulg. 29.) to the fame purpose Athenagoras. To ev wap Tevia xai ev euvexia penai manhou waper not tw Osw. Legat. Cap. 29. ed. Oxon. Methodius in his Banquet of Virgins finds this Sentiment in the very Word which in Greek fignifies Virginity (παρθενια) by a very flight Alteration; as does Feroni afterwards in the Latin Word ealebs .-Coelibes (fays he) unde & ipfum nomen inditum eff, quod coelo digni fint, qui coitu careant. Hieron. Op. Tom. 4. p. 228. ed. Par. both probably with equal Authority, that of their own extravagant Fancy only. Of the same Opinion was Tertullian. Nihil tale Paulus indulfit, (fays he) qui totam carnis necessità tem de probis etiam titulis obliterare conatur, indulget nuptias, parcit sano matrimonis, hos ei superefat, carnem

Qui leems t more, i has pai Refiner followi Poem-

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Our Poet, (faid I) than whom no one leems to have had a tenderer sense of the more improved Felicities of wedded Love, has painted. I remember, these fantastic Refiners in their proper Colors in the following Lines of the same incomparable Poem

Hypocrites austerely talk
Of Purity, and Place, and Innocence,
Defaming as impure, what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase—who bids abstain,
But our Destroyer—Foe to God and Man?
Hail wedded Love—
Founded in Rason, loyal, just, and pure,
Far be it, that I should write thee Sin, or

Or think thee unbefitting bolieft Place, Perpetual Fountain of domestic Sweets \*!

VERY different (returned he) was the Opinion of forme grave Fathers of the Church, who were for banishing the Rites

tarnem vel a fordibus purgare, a maculis enim non potest. De Rud. 568, 569, ed. Lond. in 1689. The Distinction, it must be owned, is somewhat nice, but the comfort is, 'tis Totallian's Distinction, and noe St. Paul's. The false Reasonings, as well as gross Misapplications of Scripture; to be met with in the generality of the Fathers upon this Article, are end-

Milton's Par. Loft, B. IV. 744

mysterious

thor calls them, from the State of primitive Innocence +; and suppose, that if Man had preserved the original Perfection of his Nature, Providence would have found out some purer way of propagating the Species than by the gross Sense of Touch a Happiness vouchsafed to the Brute Cre-

Par. L. B. IV. 742.

+ So St. Bafil. Tom. I. E. de un ex wapepye xan xa Ta Tov mapadeirov mas Tov enes Cion Tov Adam emionestan supois an auton en pres mapadeism bun Xperan es Xmuta Jumai faute The Junaina, peta de The wasabagie, mi тог Загатог, как тиг вкившего ть шарабегов, того то yovana yovorova. De vera Virginitate. p. 771. ed. Of the same Opinion was St. John Chrysofton. Μαλλον δε η σαρθενια μεν εξ αρχής και τε γαμε σροτερα ημιν εφανη, δια ταυτά δε επεισηλθεν υς ερον ο γαμο, και πραγμα αναίκαιον ενομίζετο ειναι, ως είγε врегово отаково о Адар, их по вденов тить. на ты an Ontin, at Totauras suprades eyenouro ;- este outus, בודב בדבףשה, שא בצש אבץבוע. דם צמף בחדשובשטע שעון יח James an edel to Gen whose to workes wolness the em yns an Spwwes. De Virg. Tom. 4. p. 331. ed. Par. vid. & p. 328. So St. Jerom writing to Euflechium. En in Paradiso virgo suit: post pelliceas tunicas initium fumpfit nuptiarum. p. 35. And in his first Book against Jovian. Ac de Adam quidem & Eva illud dicendum, quod ante offensam in Paradiso virgines fuerint; pot peccatum autem, & extra Paradifum, protinus nuptiæ. Lib. I. p. 160. If this Father ever commends Marriage 'tis upon this very indirect view of it. Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines generant: (Epift. ad Euft. ub. fup.) lego de fpinis rolam, de terra aurum, de concha margaritam.

Milton, B. VIII. 579.

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ation, in common with ourselves, as a Mark of its pretended *Unworthines*; whereas the Angels, a nobler Class of Beings, and to whom it is said we are one day to be equal, are represented to us neither to marry, nor be given in Marriage \*; as an instance of their superior Persection and Dignity.

ADMITTING it to be so, (interposed I) I see no Merit in our aspiring to be as the Angels before our time; 'tis rather a Desertion of our proper Post and Duties, and a kind of breaking in upon the natural Order of things †.

THAT (returned Hortenfius) is the ob-

\* Mat. 9. 30. Luk. 20. 36.

τροι this Point. Ει γαρ εν τη ανας ασει ετε γαμεσι ετε γαμεσι ετε γαμεσι ετε γαμεσι ετε γαμεσι ετε γαμεσι απε γαμεσι, αλλ' εισιν ως αγελοι, και δι την παρβειαν ασκεντες αίγελοι εισιν, εν ευφθαρτοις σαρξι τον των ανθρωπων διου ωεριπολευτες. και αίγελοι δυκ ασημοι τιπες, αλλα και σφοδρα επιφανες ατοι. στι εκεικων ανευ σαρκων κατα τον ουρανον την αφθαρσιαν, τοπω και αδιας ω φυσει παρα τω ωαμβασιλει των όλων Θεω φυλατίοντων, ετοι επι γης σαρκων ήδουαις ενοχλεμενοι, και τη ωειρα τε Διαδολε εκκειμενοι, την αφθαρσιαν επαίγελου δι αρετης τω ωσιητη παραδοξοτερον διεφυλαξαν. De vera Virg. p. 767. And yet this is a very common Topic amongst the Fathers in commondation of Virginity, that, quod alii postea in ceelis futuri sunt, hoc virgines in terra esse coeperunt. S. Hier. adv. Jw. Lib. 1. 178.

finements.

imements. They remove us out of our appointed Province, and put us into a different Class of Being from that which God and Nature have designed us for. And where can be the Excellence of thus intruding ourselves into a Character that does not belong to us? In reality, Philemon, I see not how it can be said to be a Perfection in Angels to live above those Injoyments of Sense for which they have neither Carpacity, nor Inclination: at the most, it is rather a Privilege or Consequence of their incorporeal Nature, than any meritorious Act of their Will\*. Certainly however it cannot

\* For that the Angels un yauser un de exyauge Las, St, Chryfostom gives a very sufficient Reason, la different as his Application of it may be) when he adds that εκ εισι συμπεπλεγμενοι σαρκι και σιματι, εδι avexorras. De Virg. p. 322. Tho' indeed to reconcile this with the Sentiments of another more antient Father I cannot fo well undertake, who explains a Pak fage in the fourth Chapter of Genefis, and another in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Gerinthians, of Atigels entertaining a Passion for Women. Si mulier, says Tertullian, potestatem habere super caput debet, (I Cor. 11. v. 10.) vel eo justius virgo, ad quam pertinet quod in causa eft. fi enim propter angelos, scilicet quos legimus a Deo & coelo excidisse ob concupiscentiam for minarum; quis præfitmere poteft tales angelos, motulate jam corpora, & humanæ libidinis reliquias defideralle, ut non ad virgines petius exarferant, quarum flu etiam humanam libidinem exculat i nam & foriptura sic suggerit, &c. Tertull, de Vergin, veland, 199. The Far ther, we see, has a very refined Notion of angelia

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eligat Incannot be fucb in Man to forego any of those natural Pleasures which his Creator has marked out for him in the very Condition of his Being, as proper Means of his present Happiness; and accordingly has made his Duty to confift not in the Renunciation of his Senses, but in the regular Use and good Government of them, 'Tis the Excellence of any Being not to foar above its natural Sphere, but to act well and wifely within it. Human Perfection is the Perfection of a Man, and not that of an Angel. Had Men fufficiently attended to this plain and obvious Distinction. what a Multitude of illiberal Superstitions, and uncouth Practices in Religion, had never been heard of? but the quite contrary Notion has generally prevailed where Religion has been any part of Men's Concern; and accordingly the World has been pretty much divided between fuch as have had too much Religion, and fuch as have had none at all \*; the latter of these Characters being indeed a natural Confequence of

Intriguing. Seriously, I know not whether it be more absurd, thus to bring down the Angels to the level of human Passions, or to affect to exalt the human Nature into the State and Condition of Angels: both, I am sure, are without the least Foundation either in Reason or Scripture. But Fathers are not always the best Friends to either of these.

It was the just Complaint of Pliny in his time, aliis nullus est deorum respectus, aliis pudendus. Nat.

Hift. Lib III. cap. 7.

the former \*: for whatever an over-forward Zeal may suggest to People of more Piety than Understanding, all Attempts to raise any part of Duty too high are in effect setting the whole much too low; whilst by indeavoring to setter Men with too great Restraints, we only provoke them to throw off all; and sly to absolute Irreligion, as the only Security against the Incroachments of Bigotry.

THE Exchange (said I) is very rash and unwarrantable. Nevertheless, such are the Absurdities of some religious Systems, that one cannot wonder that a strong Disgust to these should sometimes transport Men of freer Spirits too sar, whilst by a hasty Association of Religion itself with their own nursery Prejudices concerning it, they are led to discard both at the same time †. Upon

\* Η δε δεισιδαιμονια τη αθεοτητι και γενεσθαι παρεσχευ αρχην, και γενομενη διδωσιν απολογιαν, εκ αληθη μεν, εδε καλην, ωροσφασεως δε τιν εκ αμοιρη εσαν. Plut. de Sup. p. 171.

† Whilst some Opinions and Rites (says an excellent Writer of our own) are carried to such an immoderate Height, as exposes the Absurdity of them to the view of every body but them who raise them, not only Gentlemen of the Belles Letters, but even Men of common Sense, many times see thro' them; and then out of Indignation, and an excessive renitence, not separating that which is true from that which is false, they come to deny both, and fall back into any oth account mity to tions are hope mitthe mift a very need of ing to ke

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any other Hypothesis it seems difficult to account for some Men's irreconcileable Enmity to Religion, whose natural Dispositions are such as might incourage one to hope much better things from them. But the mistaking Reverse of wrong for right is a very common Deceit; and Men have need of great Caution and Sobriety of thinking to keep clear of it.

For what to shun will no great Knowledge need,

But what to follow, is a Task indeed \*.

'Tis this (returned Hortensius) that is the very Delusion of those Refiners we were speaking of. Because they are not lest at liberty to pursue all the Extravagancies of their natural Appetites, therefore they will not allow of any innocent Gratifications of them: as if there was no middle way between Voluptuousness and Insensibility; and a Man must either renounce his animal Nature, or be a Slave to it. What is this, Philemon, but to mistake reverse of wrong for right in the most glaring instance? and for fear of degenerating into Brutes, to disdain to act in Character as Men? For certainly if there had been any

into the contrary Extreme, a Contempt of all Religion in general. Relig. of Nat. del. p. 60, 61.

Mr. Pope's Epist. to my Lord Bathurst, 201.

H Crime

Crime in Senfuality as fuch, our Creator would never have placed us in fuch Circumstances, as to fall under inevitable Guilt this way, by the necessary Condition of our very Being, every moment of our Lives: a Consideration which some rigid Assertors of Mortification would do well to attend to, before they impose their own Visions upon the World under Pretences of superior Sanctity.

I suppose (said I) they are only some particular kinds of Sensuality, which are usually taxed as immoral; for otherwise the necessary Condition of our very Being itself were a State of perpetual Immorality. An Imputation that would reslect no small Dishonour upon the Author of it!

They are so, (replied he) but 'tis the Effect of a very short and scanty way of thinking. For since these particular Species of Sensuality are condemned as immoral, without any regard to civil, or social, or personal Inconveniences that may arise from them, it must be only as they have the Nature of sensual Indulgences. And then what hinders but every other Indulgence of this sort should be equally condemned with these? And thus we are reduced to this unavoidable Dilemma—Either there is no Evil in Sensuality as such,

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or there is—If the former be true, then we must give some other Account of the Immorality of the forbidden kinds, than what arises from their Sensuality; and so indeed we shall have a fair way open to proceed in; but withal such an one as must intirely destroy the Foundation of these pretended Resinements in Morality.
—If the latter, then will it become us to take care, lest by indeavoring to throw off an imaginary Blemish from ourselves, we cast a real one upon the Purity and Perfection of our Maker.

WHAT think you (faid I) of the Paffion of Shame, that is an Attendant upon fome kinds of fenfual Indulgences? Does not this feem to argue an intrinfic Turpitude in the Acts themselves; a fort of conscious sense of some moral Incongruity in the very Nature of the particular Pleasures? And yet Grotius, I remember, speaks of the Pudor circa Res Veneris, as one of the most general Principles in our Nature \*. And indeed the Character of Senfuality feems to have been in a peculiar degree appropriated to Pleasures of this kind; and they are usually branded by moral Writers with fuch particular Epithets of Infamy, as if they were of a more

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<sup>\*</sup> De ver. Relig. Christ. Lib. I. Sect. 7.

groß and debasing nature than any of the other Pleasures of Sense.

into the Original of this Passion of Shame, or determining whether it be natural, or acquired, a Question, as I apprehend, not without its Dissiculties; the Use of it, I think, in Society is very evident. It lays a commodious Restraint upon a violent Passion, the public Gratisication of which would be attended with many civil Inconveniences; whilst, instead of participating of the Mysteries of Love, as the incomparable Mr. Wollaston speaks, with Modesty, as within a Veil or sacred Inclosure\*, we should be in the Situation of those described by the Poet,

Quos Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum Viribus editior cædebat +.

A Circumstance happily prevented by the means of this useful Passion,

You are not then of the Opinion of that learned Casuist, (returned I) who accounts for the Shame attending these Pleasures of the sixth Sense, as he is pleas'd to call them,

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IF I V this matt plied Hor pothelis o fon the r an Opinio dulgences ture, is th of them Ideas of however is they de Society; tious in 1 in the M Virtue; a Discourses are found this, as I civil or Ground,

\* Letters

<sup>\*</sup> Rel. of Nat. p. 180. † Hor. Sat. Lib. 1. Sat. 3. 109.

( 53 )

from their difangelical Nature. Not that they have any intrinsic Turpitude in them, but being below the Dignity of the Soul of Man delighed for an angelic Life, "Na"nire, fays he, has taught her to sneak, "when she being Menven-born demits ber"self to such eartibly Drudgery".

If I was to give any flirther Account of this matter than I have already tione, (teplied Hortenflus) I should think the Hypothelis of the very ingenious Mr. Hutcheon the most natural: Who Supposes that an Opinion of the Selfiffmels of these Indulgences, arising from their confined Nature, is the Ground of our being alhamed of them; and that this first introduced Ideas of Modesty into polite Nations +: but however they first came there, certain it is they deserve the Incouragement of every Society; nor can the Public be too cantious in keeping up a tender fense of them in the Minds of Men, as a Guard to their Virtue; and in discountenancing whatever Discourses, Books, Representations, &c. are found to have a contrary Effect. But this, as I before observed, upon a merely civil or focial Account; the only just Ground, as I apprehend, of the Unlawful-

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Letters Phil. & Mor. between Mr. Norris and Dr. More, p. 153, 168.

† Hutch. Inq. 325. Sect. 5.

(54)

ness even of the forbidden Species of Sensin ality. It being better upon the whole that particular Men should be under some Restraint in the Gratification of their natural Appetites, than that much greater Mischiefs should happen to Society, in Consequence of a general Licentiousnell. For as to the disangelical Nature of the particular Pleasures, besides that it must hold equally of the most allowed Instances of them, as of the probibited ones, it is with me, I must own, of very little weight against any of them; and that for this plain Reason, because Men are not Angels; and therefore no supposed Perfections of their State of Being can be proper Matter of Example to us, who are placed in quite different Circumstances \*. The Case is

\* It feems a very odd way of depreciating the Pleafures of the fixth Senfe, as they are called, to fay they are disangelical: for is not this as true of those of the other five Senses? Whatever the learned Doctor may think of the Food of Angels, which he somewhere speaks of as literally such, or the fragrant Odors of Paradist, (p. 169,) we have the Authority of a reverend Father of the Church to produce against him in this Point. Speaking of the Angels, who ours deouras (fays he) xas ποτε, εξε μελο αυτες ηδυ μαλαξαι δυνάιτ αν, εξ οψις επικαμψαι λαμπρα, εδε αλλο των τοιετων εδε. αλλα καθαπερ του ερανου ευ μεσημέρια σαθερα μπδευΘ ενοχλευτο νεθες ες το ιδειν καθαρου, ετω και τας באבושט סטסבוק, שלבעומק בטסצאצסחק בשושטעומק, עבואו αναίκη διαυγεις και λαμπρας. S. Chryfoft. de Virg. Tom.

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Tom. 4. p.

Teven Hom. II. IV Divinities.-Life firitily in one Instance come in verters as before not, Noses a and handle

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the same in the moral World, as it is excellently represented by the Poet to be in the natural;

On superior Powers
Were we to press, inferior might on ours;
Or in the full Creation leave a void,
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From Nature's Chain whatever Link you frike,

Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the Chain alike \*.

As to those reproachful Epithets with which, as you observe, moral Writers affect to stigmatize sensual Pleasures, as if the fault lay in the things themselves, and not rather in the Degree, or other Circumstances of them: I answer with the ingenious Mr. Norris in his Theory and Re-

Tom. 4. p. 322. The great Pagan Poet had likewise juster Notions of Immateriality.

Ου γαρ σιτου εδεσ' ε πινεσ' αιθοπα οινου,

Tever availous; sioi, xai a Savatoi xalsoutai.

Hom. Il. IV. 341, was his Account of his Heathen Divinities.—So that were we to indeavor after a Life firitly angelical, (and if we are required to do so in one Instance, why not in another?) we must become in very truth like the Idols of the Heathen (Letters as before) have Eyes and see not, Ears and hear not, Noses and smell not, Palates and taste not, Hands and handle not—A Scheme of Perfection I am not snough spiritualized to envy any Man.

\* Essay on Man, I. 233.

gulation

gulation of Love, that " herein is their Mistake. And if Men will talk con " fusedly of things, and assign false Cana" for true ones, who can help it \*?

I am glad (interposed I) you have the Authority of so approved a Divine to be you out in this Notion; otherwise was you to communicate your Thoughts to many People I could name, you must expect to be charged with the most abandoned Epicurism.

I hope (returned he) I have a better Authority for my Opinion than that of any great Name whatsoever, the Authority rity of Truth and good Senie: For top a little farther into this Subject --- Who ever will be at the pains of examining into the Nature and Reasons of moral Obligation, may, I think, foon fatisfy himfelf, that the proper Duty of any moral Agent is nothing else but its proper Happines. The Terms are convertible, and imply each the other. If with this view we confider Man, as he is in himfelf, a Creature of a mixed Constitution, made up of a fensible, a focial, and a rational Principle, tis obvious that the proper Happinels a Good of such a Being, or which is the same thing, the greatest Perfection of his

Nature,

Scheme parts of Philemo of all h not, as it, a fet upon us ment of of Cond refulting of our N visionary would te Ruins of of the ef complish lance of Destructi main Per ness, cor Senses ar more a Reason, o for each the great

Nature,

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<sup>.</sup> Theory, &c. p. 98.

Nature, must arise out of some certain Scheme of Action at once fuited to all the parts of this compound Character. Here: Philemon, commences the general Reason of all human Morality and Religion. It is not, as we are too often taught to think it, a fet of arbitrary Injunctions imposed upon us at the mere voluntary Appointment of a capricious Superior: but a Rule of Conduct founded in our very felves, and refulting out of the Make and Constitution of our Nature. Away then with all those visionary and fantastic Refinements which would teach us to build our Virtue upon the Ruins of our Humanity, and eradicate one of the effential Parts of our Nature to accomplish the other. 'Tis in some just Balance of our whole Constitution, not in the Destruction of any Branch of it, that our main Perfection, because our main Happiness, consists, The Gratification of our Senses and Passions, merely as such, is no more a Crime, than the Exercise of our Reason, or the Offices of social Affection \* : for each of these were alike given us by the great Author of our Faculties, as fo

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<sup>\*</sup> Even the Defire of public Good may be too firong in some heroic Tempers, whilst the Agent never thinks he can do enough to promote it, but without reflecting upon his past Conduct, like the ambitious, goes on

many distinct Principles of Action, so many feveral means of Happiness; and, Philenon,

What composes Man, can Man destroy ??

It then only becomes wrong, when either from an undue Measure, or improper Cir. cumstances, it breaks the Harmony of our internal Frame; and by too great an Indulgence of one of these Principles offen violence to either of the other. We at not, as the incomparable Mr. Wollelin speaks, to " give up the Man to huma the Brute, nor to hurt others to pleat ourselves +;" but where we can keep clear of fuch accidental Inconvenience there the Pleasures of Sense are as allowable as they are made necessarily grateful to u They are, like the Trees of Paradife, no only fair to the Eye, but good for Food, For indeed, as Mr. Norris, I remembe, very justly states the Point; "When there is no Malice in it either against God, Himself, or his Neighbour, I cannot imagine how it should be at all " moral Incongruity for a Man to please is bimfelf |.

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but also as Evils of Li that Liber does not p cancel one dulge them deed looks bids no In which is as flances. K Within the in our very the Pleafur out that fa luptate man telque versa perfusi mov eft dignus velit effe i p. 188. ed. Happiness of ficial, or a does the Pa preme Jupi it, voluptat De Beat. Vi tion that ga the Stoics ar Pleasure. " but as it

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<sup>\*</sup> Effay on Man, II. 164. + Rel. of Nat. del. p. 180.

Letters Phil. and Mor. p. 149. Excellent in the Sentiments of the Author before-cited upon this Head. Temperance, fays he, permits us to take Meat and Drink not only as Phylic for Hunger and Thirf, but

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But does not Scripture itself (said I) seem to authorise a different way of Reasoning

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but also as an innocent Cordial and Fortifier against the Evils of Life, or even fometimes, Reason not refusing that Liberty, merely as matter of Pleasure. Chastity does not pretend to extinguish our tender Passions, or cancel one part of our Nature, it only bids us not in-dulge them against Reason and Truth. Frugality indeed looks forward, and round about; but still it forbids no Instance of Generality, or even Magnificence, which is agreable to the Man's Station and Circumflances. Rel. of Nat. del. p. 179, 180. as before. Within these just, and necessary Regulations, founded in our very Nature and Constitution, we may admit the Pleasures of the Senses to be really desirable, without that falfe Confequence in Tully of wishing in voluptate maxima, nullo intervallo interjecto, dies, noctesque versari; cum omnes fensus dulcedine omni quati perfuli moverentur: for, as the Pallage goes on, quis est dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit esse in isto genere voluptatis? de Fin. Lib. II. p. 188. ed. Dav. Such a Happiness as this is the Happiness of a merely fensible Being only, not of a faial, or a rational one. How contemptible an Idea does the Pagan poetic Theology give one of the fupreme Jupiter, when it represents him, as Seneca has it, voluptate concubitus delinitum duplicaffe noctem'! De Beat. Vit. 516. It was the want of this Diffinetion that gave rise to the different Extravagancies of the Stoics and Epicureans, upon this Article of fentible " Neither fide confidered Men, as Men, " but as it were divided human Nature between them. "The latter, forgetting themselves to be moral A-" gents, regarded only Sembility; the former, for-" getting themselves to be sensible Beings, regarded "only Morality." Balguy's Tracts, p. 204. A wife Man may very well be of that noble Sentiment in Jully, ne malum quidem ullum, nec fi in unum lotum conlata omnia fint, cum turpitudinis malo comfoning upon this Question? does it not frequently charge Immorality upon fome kinds of fenfual Pleasure, as fuch, without any mention of Consequences? and accordingly fpeak of them in terms that carry an Imputation of Baseness and Turpitude in the very Nature of the Acts themselves, as if they were not fo much Offences against the focial Interests of Mankind, as against the personal Dignity of human Nature? Thus they are represented under the Character of Luft which war against the Soul \*, of filth Lufts +, of vile Affections ||, and the like And Fornication is stiled the Sin of Uncleanness, and treated as a Defilement of a Man's felf, rather than as an Injury done to his Neighbour 1.

paranda, (Tusc. Disc. ed. Dav. 132.) without carrying the Point to such an extreme as that, lætetur in perferendo; or thinking there is no Difference between being in Phalaridis Tauro, and in Lectulo. Ibid. p. 121. Plutarch, with his usual Good Sense, has excellently decided this matter, Hodons de wasne men were xes Sai, xai warrus, adopts or est, wasar de on-yeir, xai warrus, avais Inton. Con. sep. Sap. 158.

Airives sparevourai nava the fuxhs. i Pet. 2.11.

+ Moduous σαρκο. 2 Cor. 7. 1.

| ПаЭп атіµіая. Rom. 1. 26.

Τιμαζεσθαι τα σωματα αυτων. Rom. 1. 24.—Πορυεια δε, και πασα ακαθαρσια. Eph. 5. 3.—Φενετε την πορυειαν. ὁ πορνευών εις το ιδιον σώμα άμαρ φανει. 1 Cor. 6. 18.

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In all Paffages which look this way, freplied Hortenfius) we must suppose the Cafe of mordinate Affection \* to fenfual Pleasure to be taken into the Account; and fo the fault will lie not in the Kind of Indulgence. but in the Measure of it. For otherwise the same kind of Pleasure could not be lawful under any Circumstances, and Marriage itself would be as immoral as Fornication, contrary to an express Precept of one of the inspired Writers +. Unless it may rather be thought, that the facred Writers speak of these Matters, as they are known to do of many others, with Accommodation to popular Usage, and common ways of Expression; being more sollicitous to guard Men against the Breach of their Duty, than to instruct them in the precife Reasons of it | ... And indeed to inforce

\* See Norris's Theory and Reg. p. 99.

† For so, I think, that Passage in the Hebrews should be rendered, τιμιω ο γαμω εν ωασι, let Marriage be bonorable in all Men; with Analogy to the preceptive Stile of the whole Chapter. Thus it begins, η Φιλαδελφια μενετω. της Φιλοξενιας μη εωιλανθανεσθε. v. 1, 2. and so it goes on throughout. See Heb. 13. v. 4.

It must be owned there is a very great Authority, that of the able and judicious Mr. Locke in his Comment upon the following Words of St. Paul, I Cor. 6. 18. Ε πορνευων εις το ιδιον σωμα αμαρτανει, against this Opinion. He supposes the Apostle to make use here of an Argument against Fornication to Christians, taken from their particular Relation to Christ, consider d in

the Practice of Morality was a business of much greater moment to them, the nicely to adjust the Theory of it. The

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his glorified State. His Exposition is this who committeeth Fornication finneth against the end for which his Body was made; namely, to be " a Member of Christ, and to be raised to the fam " Power which he has now in Heaven," [Lett Works, Fol. 2 vol. p. 168.) for fo he understands the fourteenth Verle, was imas egryepu da ens dumme But if this be a good Argument to Christian against Fornication, it must be so too against May riage; for the mere Act of corporal Indulgence is the fame in both States, and there is only a Difference in the Circumstances of it, which is here no part of the Apostle's Consideration. He reasons upon the Nature of the Act itself; but a xollwhere The woom in sum EFIN, is as true of a xoldward in youans, to that in both Cases it is aspen to mean to Xpis at a equally; if this be indeed the true Ground of the Prohibition we are here confidering. But with all due Deference so fo judicious an Interpreter in most Cases, I think, he had acted more agreably to that rational Ingenuity he has shewn upon other occasions, if, instead of ref. ing in an Explication which is liable to infinite Difficulties, he had here, as he does elfewhere, frankly owned, " what the meaning of these Words is, I es confess, I do not understand;" (fee his Note on I Cor. 11. 10.) For my own part, I am intirely #1 loss to give any fathsfactory Sense to this Passage. Un-less it might be allowable to understand by Bosy, with the Editor of the New Testament in Greek and Englift, the Body of Christians, the Church, or myflical Body of Christ, so often mention'd in Scripture; 2gainst which Fornication is in a peculiar sense a Crime from its near Connexion with the impure Services of Pagan Idolatry; into many of which it had been, as

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was rather the Province of Philosophy. and improved Reasoning; and had accordingly given Imployment to the feveral eminent Masters of it in different Ages and Countries; but the other was a Point of too great difficulty for any buman Autherity to compais; and therefore was the peculiar Affignment of those who stood invested with divine: who came not, as they themselves inform us, with the Arts of Eloquence, the inticing Words of Man's Wildom, but with Signs, and Wonders, and divers Miracles, Demonstrations of the Spirit, and of Power \*. But this is a matter that will fall more immediately under Consideration in the Sequel of this Argument; for the present it may suffice to have just hinted at it in passing, in bar to

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, 25 II it were, incorporated. So says Tertullian, who introduces Idolatry thus reporting of herself, Ego quidem Idololatria sepissime meechiæ occasionem subministro; sciunt hiei mei, & mei montes, & vivæ aquæ, ipsaque in urbibus templa, quantum evertendæ pudicitiæ procuremus. De Pud. p. 557. It was yet more eminently criminal in this view, when practised, as we are informed it too often was, by Christians, in their religious Assemblies themselves, in their Night-Meetings at the Tombs of their Martyre; insomuch that an early Council thought fit to injoin, "that Women "should not frequent these Coemeteries by Night; eo quod sæpe sub obtentu orationis latenter scelera committantur. 35 Can. Conc. Elib.—But if this be not admitted, we must, I think, have recourse to popular Accommodation in this Place.

\* I Cor. ch. 2. v. I. & 4. Heb. 2. 4.

Much Objections as might be supposed to atile from the Quarter of Revelation against the main Tenor of these Resections.

enineur Massers of it in different Ages To proceed to forme farther Obleva tions that more directly confirm if. We have already confidenced the State and Con-Rithtion of Nature, as it is an immediate Occasion of many : pleasing Perception to the human, Senfe. Nevertheles the Pleasures of the South are by no means the only ones to which it is subservient, then are others of a more elegant kind, that arise out of these, and open a still wide field of Entertainment to us; the Pleafure I mean, of the Fancy or Imagination Under this Head I comprehend those & veral delightful Perceptions which arie from the Contemplation of either natural, or artificial, or even imaginary and ideal Objects, confider'd as beautiful, regular, barmonious. That these are something very different from the fimple Sensations of our Sight, or Hearing, is generally, I believe, acknowledged; infomuch that a celebrated Writer upon the Subject is for confidering them as a distinct Class of Perceptions; and calling our Power of receiving them an internal Sense \*. Thus much is certain, that a Man may enjoy Mained, we must, I think, have recourt

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<sup>\*</sup> Hutch. Inq. p. 17. This is no more bornnex.

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all his ordinary Senses in great Perfection without any of those transporting Pleasures that gratify a refined Imagination. In Music we feem to admit a Distinction of this fort in our common Language; by filling a Capacity for the Pleafures of Harmony, a good Ear, And yet the Organs of Hearing feem to be by no means less perfect in People of no Genius for Mufic, than in others of the greatest and most improved Fancy this way. And why a good Eye might not found full as well of a Judgment in Painting, Statuary, Architecture, or natural Landscape, I can see no reason but want of Use and Custom. Doubtless these are as distinct Ideas from the simple Perceptions of Calor, Figure, and particular Extension, as the others are from the particular Tones of fingle Notes. A Man may be able to diffinguish these with great Accuracy, may know all the Varieties of harsher, softer, higher, lower, flatter, sharper, when distinctly founded to him, and at the same time have no Ear for good Composition in Music, In like manner he may know with fufficient Accuracy the particular Dimensions of any Body, its Length, Breadth, Height, Base, Surface, Angles, Circumference, and yet have no Relish of that general Proportion which is the Refult of the whole, and charms the Virtuolo Spectator without any previous K Inquiry.

Inquiry. /So again in a Piece of Painting he may difcern all the feveral Object their distinct Figures, their Attitudes, the Colorings, with the different Boundarie and Degrees of Light and Shade; and ve have no Sense of its general Beauty. It's this that fets the Man of Tafte in the fe yeral polite Arts fo much above the mechanic Performer. Both of them may have the fame number of separate Ideas from the several Parts of any Object; and ve the former shall have a quite different Poception of the Whole, from what the latter has any notion of. As to the Foundation of this Sense of Beauty, 'tis observed, I think, very justly by the ingenious M. Hutcheson to be " Uniformity amidst Va " fiety," or the Contemplation of an Object as at once regular, and diverlifed Whether there be any real Excellency in the particular Forms we call regular to the Eye of a supreme Intelligence is not h easy to determine; tho' was I to declare for either fide of the Question, I should rather do it for the negative. Thus mud however is very certain, that the Constitution of Nature is every way as much accommodated to the Entertainment of our internal Sense of Beauty, as it has been shewn under a former Article to be to that of our ordinary Senses. The Universe, & its very Name imports in the Language of the

the Antier lerity, and Imaginatio than the re for having Beauty an Objects of n itself a ng, and a ffignable I new Comb Objects, to ice in the not only Delight to out also con ommodatio life. And rovidence s kind In as not or with referen ut us into ources of umberless Models of or ver, by a 1

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the Antients, is a System of Beauty, Regularity, and Order \*. But the Pleasures of Imagination are of a much wider extent than the real Compais of external Nature; for having once received the Ideas of Beauty and Proportion from the several Objects of immediate Sense, it finds within itself a Power of inlarging, compoundng, and altering them at pleasure to any ffignable Degree, and of figuring to itself, new Combinations and Forms of beautiful Objects, to be as so many Models of Pracice in the different Branches of Art, which not only administer fresh Accessions of Delight to the Imagination of the Curious, out also contribute much to the better Acommodation, or Imbellishment of human And here again, Philemon, as if rovidence could never enough manifest s kind Intentions for our Happiness, it as not only form'd an intire Universe with reference to our Taste of Beauty, and ut us into a capacity of multiplying the ources of this Pleasure to ourselves by umberless artificial Combinations, and lodels of our own Invention; but morever, by a still more complicated Benevo-

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lence.

<sup>\*</sup> So Pliny tells us in his second Book of Natural istory, chap. 4. Equidem & consensu gentium motor, nam quem x00 µ00 Græci, nomine ornamenti, pellaverunt, eum nos, a persectà absolutaque eleutià, mundum.

lence, has superadded to the several Objects of original Beauty, necessarily agreeble to us in their own Nature, a power of be coming yet farther so by after Description, and made the apt Representations of pleasure Forms a distinct Ground of Entertainment from the Pleasure of the Form themselves. Tis to this we owe much of the Entertainment of Poetry, Painting Sculpture, Statuary, and other description Arts.

"Tis very remarkable, (faid 1) that the comparative Beauty from the Apones of Description is no small Foundation of Plafure to the Imagination, even where the Objects described are rather disagreable, a even terrible, in themselves. Thus partcular Deformities either of Person, or in natural Objects; the decrepit Figure of Old Age, rude Rocks, Mountains, Precipica Tempests, may by a good Representation be turn'd into very confiderable Beauties in Painting, however otherwise in their Realities. And no one, I believe, ever read Virgil's Description of Eneas's Descent to Hell without a very fenfible Delight, tho' the several Scenes he was to pass thro' in his Paffage thither were considered by his Conductress as so full of Horror, that The would not permit him to ingage in the

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\* Eneid.
† Ibid.
† Vol. V
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<sup>\*</sup> Hutch. Inq. Sect. 4.

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The reason is fill greater, when we attend him to the

Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas

Because there the Objects themselves are no less agreable to the Imagination, than the Poet's singular Happiness in representing them. The Spectator, I remember, has the same Observation of our own divine Countryman Milton; "that his Descrip-"tions of Hell and of Paradise are both, perhaps, equally perfect in their kind; but in one the Brimstone and Sulphur are less refreshing to the Fancy, than the Beds of Flowers, and Wilderness of Sweets in the other ||;

How inlarged and amiable an Idea (interposed Hertensius) does this give us of the beneficent Contrivance of the Author.

\* Aneid. Lib. VI. 260,

† Ibid. 638.

Wol. VI. No. 418. The intire Efflay on the Pleasures of the Imagination is well worth perusing upon this Subject.

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of our Faculties? that in the System of the Universe he should have observed the same Rule which we ourselves do in regard to our own personal System: having given, as an inspired Writer has it, more abundant Homour to that part which lacked? insomuch that even those Objects in Nature, which we think to be less beautiful, upon these are bestowed an adventitious kind of Beauty, and its uncomely Parts have thus a relative Comelines.\*

Bur is not this after all (observed I) as much as can be faid, according to your Hypothesis, of the most confessedly beautiful Objects in Nature? for you feemed unwilling, I remember, to admit of any fuch thing as absolute intrinsic Beauty; and were for resolving all into a certain arbitrary Accommodation of things to our particular manner of Conception: fo that what I have formetimes heard remarked of a particular Species of Beauty, that of Face, or Person, is as true, I perceive, of every other kind of it; and our Men of Gallantry are better Philosophers, than they themfelves are generally aware of, when in defence of some singular Passion they tell us, that " all Beauty is Fancy." But furely, Hortenfius, this cannot be the Truth of the Case; that there should be no settled Cri-

\* 1 Cor. 12. 23, 24.

terion of the Natural dently of can image confused! Eye of ful with portions ture?

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terion of Beauty, Order, Proportion, in the Nature of things themselves, independently of some special Appointment. Who can imagine, that a rude Heap of Stones consusedly thrown together should, to the Eye of any Being, appear equally beautiful with a sine piece of Building, the Proportions of the most regular Architecture?

gination, (returned Hortenfius.) Can you separate all Thoughts of Use from the particular Models of Architecture, which you call beautiful? or is not this latter Conception a Consequence of the former, in some secret Method of Association?

By no means, (faid I) as I apprehend. How often do we commend an Object as beautiful, where Use is quite out of the question? where there is not any Appearance of this kind to determine our Approbation?

Nor any Comparison (replied he) made with some other Object of like Beauty, that is confessedly useful?

I think not, (faid I) at least I have often done so, without being aware of any such Comparison.

PERHAPS

TERHAPS ifo, ( returned Wortenfin) But this is not the only Inflance, in which Comparisons are formed by the Mini without any immediate Attention to it own Act in doing fo. What think you Phileman, of that Propensity we all notes rally have to run to the Affiftance of Peo. ple in any fudden and immediate Circumstance of Danger or Distress? Could you fee a Man accidentally falling into the Fin or down a Precipice, in danger of Drown ing, Suffocation, Strangling, or the like and not mechanically indeavor to relea him? And yet, perhaps, this piece of to ceffary Compassion may be only a more disguised Instance of Self-Love grounded upon a fudden, and therefore unobserved Substitution of ourfelves into his Place and Circumstances. Tis the Quickness of the Transition in such Cases that makes us overlook it. And hence probably feveral other acquired Propenfities in our Nature either to perform certain Actions, or to relish certain Objects, without a formal At, tention to the precise Reasons of either, have been distinguished by the name of Instincts, whereas in truth they are only Tho' at the fame time it mult be acknowledged, that they have all the Use and Force of so many several Instincts; and therefore the particular Facts that arise

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arise out of them are not affected by any difference in accounting for the Original of the things themselves. May not this explain in some measure your approving certain Objects as beautiful, where you can fee no Use; namely, from some unobserved Comparison with like regular Forms, which are experienced to have a very manifest one? For indeed, Philemon, to talk of abstract Order and Proportion is to me very unintelligible Language, As far as Order and Proportion are real Qualities of Bodies, and not arbitrary Modifications of our Sense, they belong equally to all possible Combinations of Matter. For the most deformed irregular Objects have a certain Order and Relation of their Parts to one another, as well as the most beautiful and uniform ones. Let a heap of Stones be thrown together never fo confusedly as to our Apprehension, there will yet, as an ingenious Writer expresses it \*, "be as real a Proportion in their Sizes " and Distances, as if they had been " ranged by the nicest hand;" and the Reason why they appear confused to us is not because they want Order and Proportion in themselves, but because they have not that particular Order and Disposition of Parts that is accommodated to our par-

ticular

<sup>\*</sup> Author of a Pamphlet, intitled, Divine Benevoince, in 1731, printed for J. Noon, p. 46.

ticular manner of Conception. 'Tis no Order and Proportion as fuch that confitutes Beauty; for then all Objects that may be compared as to Situation and Quan. tity must be beautiful; and there could be no fuch thing as Deformity in the World We are indeed apt to pronounce of certain disagreable Objects, that they want Order and Proportion; but the Expression is just as improper, as the fore-mention'd Author observes, as when we say a Body is shapeless, which appears to us ill-shaped . If you was to invert the Polition of the bestproportioned Door-Case, and make its Perpendicular its Base, would it not appear extremely awkard and unnatural? Now what is it that is here changed, but is particular Relation to the human Statue! the same Number of Parts, and the same Order and Proportion of one of its Dimensions to the other, sublists as before; Upright and Parallel are mere Prejudices of our Sense. The only thing that is really affected by this Alteration is its U/e or Convenience; and yet when it loses this it is no longer beautiful: a Circumstance that feems to make Beauty and Usefulness more nearly allied to each other, than you are willing to allow. And, to fay the truth, Philemon, I am of opinion this way of Reasoning holds equally good of the se-

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veral Forms of Beauty in Nature, as in the Combinations of Art. The wife Architect of the Universe has framed every part of it with exquisite Contrivance to promote the general good of the whole. The Configurations of the heavenly Bodies, their Order, Magnitudes, Distances, Revolutions, are all of them accommodated to their respective Uses in the Creation. The Structure of Plants, Trees, Animal Bodies, erc. is fuch as their feveral Natures require it should be. Were we let into the whole Secret and Occonomy of Nature, we should find none of them could be altered but for the worfe. Reason, and our Interest, from a general View of the Cale, would approve their present Constitution, tho' we had no Sense of Beauty in any particular Mechanism more than another. And yet fuch is the Abundance of Divine Goodness, that not fatisfied, as it were, to have formed things for the best in a rational Estimate, it has given them a supernumerary Recommendation to us from a Principle of Beauty; and made the Contemplation of fuch Forms, Orders, and Dispositions of Bodies, as would most approve themselves to our Reafon as ufeful, an immediate Source of Pleafure to our Imagination as beautiful. For this I take to be the real State of the Case; and it is an effectual Answer to those who L 2

intrinsic Beauty in the Nature of Thing themselves, but all is matter of arbitrary Appointment, the Profusion of Art and Skill observable in the Mechanism of the Universe is a mere Waste of Workmanship; and a Chaos would have answered the Creator's Purpose as well as a regular System. a Notion that can never be maintained, 'till it can be proved that all Constitutions of Things are as indifferent in respect of their Uses and Applications, as I have been indeavoring to shew they are, in respect of the particular Consideration of their Beauty.

But will not this way of Reasoning (said I) Hortensius, lead us to some very odd Conclusions? particularly, if there is no Reality in Beauty, and nothing can appear to the divine Mind otherwise than it really is in itself, will not this seem to east a shade upon the universal System in the Eye of its own Maker? Shall then the lovely Face of Nature, so liberal of its Charms to the human Sense, appear not withstanding to its Author, the only unerring Judge of it, without Form or Comelines †? A shocking Reslexion this on that Divine Geometrician, as an ancient

+ Isaiah 53. 2.

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<sup>\*</sup> Divine Rectitude, by Mr. Balgiy, p. 16.

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Author calls him, who has ever been confidered by the wife and thoughtful of all Ages, as establishing the Universe in Namber, Weight, and Meafure; and who tells us of himfelf, by a more authentic Declaration, that upon a deliberate Review of the Works of his Hands, newly gone out of them, he found reason to pronounce of every thing he had made, that it was very good . And indeed I have always been used to conceive of the Beauty, Order, and Regularity of external Nature, as the Production of those perfect Models of Beauty, Proportion, and Symmetry into actual Existence, which before subsisted in the divine Ideas from all Eternity. But you, it feems, will neither allow them to fiblish there, nor any where else, but in the deluded Apprehenfions of weak Mortals.

May I ever be thus agreably deceived, (refumed Hortensius!) and with Gratitude, instead of repining, submit to a Delusion of so great Consequence to my Happiness! For what is Happiness, Philemon, but Idea? and if imbracing a Cloud can give me equal Satisfaction, need I complain of its being substituted in the room of the Queen of Heaven? But to come more directly to the Point: You are concerned,

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<sup>\*</sup> Genesis 1. 31.

it feems, that the Works of the Deity should appear to him without that partie cular Relation we call Beauty. But do they not likewife appear to him without the relation of Deformity? and does not that in some measure fatisfy you? Should I tell any of the Vulgar, that there is no fuch thing as Color to the divine Apprehension, would not their Prejudices arise ftrong against the Truth of this Affertion? and yet you and I are persuaded of this and think it no Diminution of the divine Happiness, however the contrary may be an Improvement of our own. Do but confider Beauty, as you are used to do Color, Philemon, and you will be as little concerned to defend the Reality of one, with regard to the Deity, as you are of the other \*

But not to urge you with less important Objections, (replied I) Hortenfus, I have one which strikes deep at your main Principle, taken from Fact; namely, that the Constitution of Things is itself such as plainly speaks the Deity to have had a regard to the greater Order and Harmony of the World, as a distinct End from the Happiness of its Inhabitants. What else, as a very ingenious Writer upon this Subject reasons, means that Scale and Subor-

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<sup>\*</sup> Div. Ben. p. 45.

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dination of Beings established in the Universe, " ascending from inanimate and " flupid Matter to Human-Kind, and " reaching beyond it higher and farther "than our Faculties are able to follow " them \*?" A more nearly equal State of their Powers and Perfections would have been more conducive to their common Happiness, but would at the same time have destroyed that Order and Regularity which prevails in the present System; an End too facred for the Deity to break in upon for any other Confiderations +! Had Happiness been the only Design of the Creator, whence that mighty Difference to be observed in the Capacities and Injoyments of the feveral Ranks of fenfitive Beings? why were they not all placed in the bighest Degree of Perfection? why not all intelligent? why not indued with the Powers and Faculties of Angels? but the eternal Laws of Order and Proportion forbid fuch an unvaried Disposition of Things ||.

This (returned Hortenfius) would be an insuperable Difficulty indeed, were it but built upon any solid Foundation in point of Fact: but what if the quite

<sup>\*</sup> Div. Rest. p. 13.

<sup>+</sup> Div. Rett. p. 22.

<sup>|</sup> Div. Rect. p. 15, 22, 23.

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contrary be true? What if the Same Confi. tution and Occonomy of things that make them thus beautiful and regular to our I. magination, be at the same time calculated to serve the Purposes of the greatest pol. fible Happiness upon the whole? How do you know but the highest Order of intel ligent and happy Beings may in the pre. fent System be as full, as the Nature and Circumstances of fuch Beings can admit of Would you then have no inferior Degrees of Happiness communicated to other Class of Beings, because a farther Communication of that which is most perfect is also gether impracticable? Surely this would be to break in as much upon the Happi ness of the Universe, as it can be supposed to be upon its Order and Regularity. & rionly, Philemon, I am fo far from thinking the Scale of Beings you mention a Objection to the Creator's Goodness, that to me it appears to be the noblest Display and Confirmation of it; inalmuch as feems probable the Sum total of Happinel is much greater in this Constitution of things, than it could have been in any other : especially if this very Circum-Stance

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95. Note 35

<sup>\*</sup> This Notion is well explained and defended by the learned and thoughtful Archbishop King, in his Treatise of the Origin of Evil; and his Reasoning upon this Subject have been still farther inforced by his very ingenious Translator; who in this, as, I think

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stance of a regular Subordination in the Universe, at the same time that in the nature of the thing itself it is productive of more general Happiness, be likewise calculated to give Pleasure in its Contemplation from a Sense of Beauty to other parts of the rational Creation, as we experience it to do to ourselves in particular; a Notion which I do not think improbable: however, it must be owned, the Constitution of our Sense of Beauty may seem to have been in many respects more peculiarly accommodated to

in many other Instances, has greatly improved upon an excellent Original. See Chap. 3, 4, 5, Subsect. 5. with the Notes; from which I will take the liberty of transcribing the following Paffage - " From the "foregoing Observation, that there is no manner of " Chasm or Void, no Link deficient in this great Chain " of Beings, and the reason of it, it will appear ex-"tremely probable also, that every distinct Order, every Class, or Species of them, is as full as the Nature of it would admit, and God faw proper. There are perhaps so many in each Class as could exist together without some Inconvenience or Uneasi-ness to each other. This is easily conceivable in Mankind, and may be in superior Beings; the' for want of an exact Knowledge of their feveral Natures and Orders, we cannot apprehend the manner of it, or conceive how they affect one another; only this we are fure of, that neither the Species, nor the Individuals in each Species, can possibly be infinite; and that nothing but an Impossibility in the nature of the thing, or some greater Inconvenience, can restrain the Exercise of the Power of God; or hinder him from producing fill more and more Beings capable of Felicity." Law's Translat. 95. Note 35. at the end.

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Creatures of our particular Make and Cir. cumstances. Thus the Manner of know. ing by general Theorems, and of operating by general Principles, or Causes, a 'tis well observed by Mr. Hutcheson, as in as we can attain it, must be most suitable to Beings of limited Understanding, and Powers of Action; the one preventing Distraction to their Minds by a Multiplicity of particular Propositions, and the a ther Toil and Weariness to their active Faculties from a Variety of separate Applications \*. Now 'tis obvious that our Sense of Beauty coincides intirely with what a rational Conviction of Interest would recommend to our Choice in both these la stances. Again, the Comprehension of regular and uniform Objects is much eafier that of irregular ones; inafmuch as here a Know ledge of one or two parts leads us into the of the whole; whereas the Ideas of confused Heaps, and disuniform Combination are neither ascertained to the Imagination nor retained in the Memory, without confiderable Difficulty +. And yet her likewise a Sense of Beauty comes in, and determines us in favour of Uniformity Regularity, and Order in the Disposition

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† Huteb. p. 99.

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<sup>\*</sup> Hutch. Inq. p. 98.

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It may be observed here; that however it must be acknowledged that none of these Reasons have any Force as to the supreme Being bimself, since all ways of knowing are

\* The Meaning here is, that from an actual Experience of the Benefits of Order, Uniformity, Regularity, in many particular Instances, we are led to place a kind of Value in regular Objects as such, in the way of Habit and Affociation. For that this is the very truth of the Case in natural Objects we may reasonably conclude from the Analogy of artificial ones; in which it is very evident that Beauty is nothing else but experienced Usefulness. Many of the Ornaments, in the different Orders of Architecture were at first only very simple Contrivances for the convenient Adjustment of Beams, Rafters, Props, and other necessary Materials in building; as may be seen in Vitruvius, and other Writers of Architecture: by degrees Use came to be converted into Beauty; and indeed the latter feems now wholly to ingrofs the Pafson of the Virtuesi, as it were for its own sake. Thus the Corona or Cornish particularly was at first only an Invention to keep off Wet from the Sides of Walls, or Bodies of Pillars; and yet we see it is now establish'd into an Ornament: sed projectura Coronarum rejiciet extra perpendiculum stillas, & ea ratione servaverit integras lateritiorum parietum structuras. Vitruvii de Architectura Lib. 2. Cap. 8. So again the Proportions between the Bases of Pillars and their Heights were at first adjusted from that of the Foot to the intire Stature in the human Body. Cum voluissent coumnas collocare (fays Vitruvius) speaking of the first Inflitution of the Doric Pillar, non habentes symmetrias earum, & quærentes quibus rationibus efficere possent, uti & ad onus ferendum essent idoneæ, & in M 2 alpectu

are equally easy to an infinite Comprehensiion, and all ways of acting to infinite
Power; nevertheless, he having determined
for the Reasons already mentioned to constitute our Sense of Beauty such as in fact
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aspectu probatam haberent venustatem (a manifest Consequence this of the other) dimensi sunt virilis pedis vestigium, & cum invenissent pedem sextam partem esse altitudinis in homine, ita in columnam transfule. runt.—The Proportions of the Ionic and Corinthian Pillar were adjusted much upon the same Principle. Vitruv. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. de Gen. Columnarum. - And in another Place he tells us, that all Proportion in Building is relative to that of the human Figure. Non potest ædes ulla fine symmetria atque proportione rationem habere compositionis, nisi uti ad hominis bene sigurati membrorum habuerit exactam rationem, Lib 3. Cap. 1. And indeed that the Ancients were wholly governed by the Views of the greatest Use or Conveniency, when they, omnia certa proprietate, & i veris naturæ deductis moribus, traduxerunt in operum perfectiones, (Vitruv. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.) appears from hence, that later Architects have in vain attempted to refine upon their Models, or to introduce any new Orders of Building. The late French King, we know, was very defirous to have had the Reputation of bringing some new Order into use; but it was found impracticable without manifest Inconvenience.—I may here just note by the way, that what has been faid of natural Beauty, that it is all relative to some Use, is as true of moral, or the Beauty of Actions. Some Scheme of Action there is which answers all the Purposes of fuch a Creature as Man; which accomplishes every Point he can be supposed to aim at. This is what is called moral Virtue, and it is the Duty of every Man, because it is his true Interest upon the whole, to from h find the Source the Imag

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aft in Conformity to this Rule of Life and Conduct. established in the necessary Relations and Habitudes of things. The Sense of Beauty in Actions is nothing else but their apprehended Subserviency to this great End; which, according as it is just or otherwise, conflitutes (as the Sense of external Beauty does likewise in natural Objects) a true or a false Taste of Life. This accounts for the many otherwise unaccountable Perversions both of the internal and moral Sense observable in Fact and Experience; as it likewise points out the true Remedy for them, namely to confider impartially the real Nature and Consequences of Things, to inlarge the View of the Mind, to take in many more Particulars into the Account, and by that means correct the vicious Relish or Gothic Taste. Those who cannot give up the favorite Terms of abstract Beauty, and abstract Fitness, may possibly have less Prejudice to this way of thinking, when they are pleased to observe, that what they call beautiful, or fit, and the like, that I only defire leave to call useful, or convenient; we mean the very same things, and differ only in Expression: a Circumstance I chuse to mention, in regard to the many excellent Writers who have seemed to oppose the interested Scheme of Morality. I have as great a Contempt for what is commonly understood by Selfishness, as they can possibly have; and I am less inclined to differ from them, because, I take it, it is the Excess of their Generofity alone that, to my Apprehension, misleads them; this having been the Error, if fuch it is, of some of the most valuable Persons in the World of Letters; as no one can doubt, who confiders that Dr. Clarke, Mr. Wollaston, Mr. Hutcheson, Mr. Balguy, and others of great Merit have declared for this Opinion,

That admirably fimple kind of Mechanism by which are brought about fome of the most considerable Effects in Nature is exquifitely adapted to our Tafte of Beauty in Uniformity amidst Variety. Such are the Principles of Gravitation, of Heat; of Elasticity; the several Operations of which besides their numberless good Uses in the Creation, have moreover a peculiar relation of Accommodation to the human Mind, from their observed Agreement in one general Cause of their Production The obvious Face of the World, Phile. mon, is beautiful and regular; the Forms of the heavenly Bodies, their Disposition in an imaginary concave Sphere, their Periods, and Revolutions in equal Times; the Returns of Day and Night, Seed-time and Harvest, Summer and Winter; the Arrangements of natural Objects; the gradual Rifing of Hills, their extended Ranges with regularly interspersed Valleys; the beautiful Level and polished Surface of Rivers; the uniform Majesty of the Ocean; the fimilar Structure and Configuration of the parts of Flowers, Plants, Trees, and above all of animal Bodies, are Instances of a governing Order in Nature equally notorious and agreable. But this beautiful Simplicity, Regularity, and Order in the Constitution of things is not intended merely to indulge us in the lazy Pleasure of Contemplation,

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templation, but to suggest to us many useful Principles of Action and Imployment. The feveral kinds of natural Forces abovementioned by a dexterous Application are made subservient to various good Purposes in the Accommodation of Life \*. To them we are indebted for the Cohesion of the several Parts of artificial Compositions of Bodies; for the Theory and Application of the mechanic Powers; for many useful Operations in Chymistry, Physic, Surgery; the several Engines imployed in the raising, projecting, or drawing off Water and other Fluids; the Invention of Clock-work, and the different Uses of Springs; with several other Particulars too numerous to be here

It is to be observed here, as I find it well represented by Mr. Campbell, that we do not in such Applications create to ourselves any new Powers or Faculties, which we had not before from the Author of our Being; nor do we furnish external Objects with other Qualities, than what they have from the first Cause of all things. And where is the Crime of my collecting and disposing particular things together, so as to gratify my Mind with greater Variety of pleaing Perceptions than can be had in common thro' the World? All these things are fitted and appointed by the Author of Nature to entertain me with fuch Gratifications: and, I hope, there is no Guilt in exerting my natural Powers, and making use of my own Labour, Skill, and Industry, in procuring for myself those Pleasures which I have a natural Taste to injoy; or in applying things to those Purposes, to which, not finful Man, but the Deity himself has so well adapted them. APRTH-AOFIA, p. 111, 112.

distinctly

diffinctly infifted on \* Our Take of Beauty in the Order and Regularity of na tural Objects is the Foundation of all that Pleasure we receive from the more elegan Devices of Art; fuch wo Architecture, Mufic, Gardening, Painting, Statuary; to which we may add likewife the Pleasares of Drefs, Equipage, Attendants, Furni. ture. Without fome or other of which Pursuits, Life would want many of those Conveniences, and most of those Amuse. ments, for which alone it is chiefly valuable, in the Opinion of fuch as would be esteemed to have the truest Relish of it. Strike off the artificial Improvements of Life, and you leave little or no Advantage in a great Fortune above a very finall one, The Beauties of Nature lie open to all in common: the substantial part of all senfual Gratifications is attainable by a very moderate share of Wealth and Power: nay, even Scarcity often recommends thek things to us much more than Abundance. Would we refine upon the common Satisfactions of Life, and strike out into a

" Execution" Hutch. Inq. p. 103.

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<sup>\*</sup> The Appointment of general Principles in Nature is farther useful in a higher, a moral Account, For were there no general Laws established, "there could be no Prudence or Design in Men, no retional Expectation of Essects from Causes, no Schemes of Action projected, nor any regular

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more varied Scene of Injoyments than lie within the Reach of the Vulgar, we must call in the Improvements of Fancy, as what alone can compass this Point for us: Accordingly; if we look abroad into the World, and reflect a little what it is that fo attracts our Eyes and our Envy in the higher Stations of Life, shall we not find it to be only the superior Capacity they give to People of more diftinguish'd Rank for injoying the feveral Pleasures of Decency, Regularity, Beauty? Why else is the Pride and Magnificence of a Palace preferred to the Humility of a plain and cleanly Cottage? a Piece of Painting to an ordinary Sign-Post? a Suit of Embroidery to a Covering of Frize? a Service of Plate to a Set of earthen Dishes? a numerous Attendance to a Table, or a Dumb-Waiter? a Concert of Music to a Company of ruftic Scrapers? an Opera to a Village-Wake? If you fay that Confiderations of Property determine our Choice here, I anfiver, Property alone cannot do it; for then a Mifer would be thought equally happy with a Man of the most accomplished Taste. It must be Property applied to something we esteem Happiness. Even the Miser bimself, tho' at present by a strange Infatuation in the Passion of Avarice his Thoughts look no farther than Possession, commenced fuch probably at first from a Prospect

Prospect of Happiness. "Twas the Apprehension of Want, that is, of not having the Means of injoying Life in his power, that ingaged him in this faving Regimen: unless we may suppose that even yet he has an eye to the making a Family, as 'tis call'd; that is, laying a Foundation for others to taste those very Pleasures of Order, Regularity, Beauty, from which the Wretch himself is eternally precluded from a cherished Horror of Expence \*.

WHETHER this be any part of his Intention or not I cannot tell, (interposed I) but it certainly often succeeds so in Fact. Profusion in the subsequent Generation is generally a sort of Retribution to the Public for the Mischies of Avarice in the precedent one. I remember Mr. Pope in his Epistle to my Lord Batburst has given this Thought a very beautiful Dress in the following Lines—

Riches, like Infects, when conceald they lie, Wait but for Wings, and, in their Season, fly:

Who sees pale Mammon pine amidst bis Store,

Sees but a backward Steward for the Poor;

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But aff Self-De Virtue knows as he yet hav of the Paradox practifes from all mortifie crifices other bo fpect, h two; fo more tl

As f Hortenfa Neverth both of fon, are of People to others their Po

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<sup>\*</sup> See this Subject well treated in Hutch. Inq. Sect. 8. p. 93, &cc.

<sup>\*</sup> Epift

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This Year a Refervoir, to keep, and spare; The next, a Fountain spouting thro' his Heir.

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But after all, (continued I) Hortenfius, if Self-Denial be fo necessary a Token of Virtue as 'tis fometimes represented, who knows but the Mifer, as detestable a part as he is generally esteemed to act, may yet have a fort of Claim to the Character of the most confummate Virtue? a strange Paradox this! But yet it is certain he practifes as high a Degree of Abstinence from all the Comforts of Life, as the most mortified Ascetic can pretend to. He sacrifices his all, Hortenfius, and can the other boast of doing more? nay, in one respect, he is even the greatest Rigorist of the two; for he facrifices at least one Pleasure more than the Ascetic himself does; the Pleasure, I mean, of Liberality.

As far as Intention is concerned (said Hortensius) I am of opinion he may do so. Nevertheless, Philemon, the Consequences both of the Miser, and the Ascetic-Passion, are nearly the same; both these sorts of People may be said to leave their Wealth to others +, and give up their own Right in their Possessions, that somebody else may be the better for them. How different are

† Pfalm 49, 10.

the

<sup>\*</sup> Epift. of the Use of Riches, 1. 170,

the Causes that may thus bring about the same Effects? No one is apt to suspect a Miser of Liberality, or an Ascetic of Cove. tourness; and yet they both act the very same part in Life, tho upon quite contrary Principles; they both deny themselves in the very same Instances. To suffer Want thro' the Fear of Want, which is the Case of the former, is, it may be, the more flagrant Absurdity; but to imbrace it voluntarily, and for its own fake, as does the latter, is furely no inconsiderable one; especially in a Constitution of things, as has been shewn, no ways favourable to fuch an austere Sentiment of religious Perfection.

But would you carry this Notion to far, (said I) Hortenfius, as absolutely to condemn the forward Zeal of those mortified Pietists, who taking the evangelial Precept of felling all we have, and giving to the Poor \*, in a strictly literal Sense, imbrace the Severities of voluntary Poverty, as if it was as formally impossible, as it is somewhere by a strong proverbial Expression in Scripture declared to be extremely difficult, in certain Circumstances, for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven †?

+ See as before.

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<sup>\*</sup> Mat. 19. 21. compare with Mark 10. 21.

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INDEED, (said he) Philemon, I would, There cannot be a greater Injury to the Honour of the sacred Writings than to suppose them capable of an Interpretation, in any particular Passage, so repugnant to Common Sense, no less than to the general Tenor of those very Writings themselves.

But may not this, and other like Places of Scripture (I interrupted) be understood as certain Counsels of eminent Perfection to some People, no ways obligatory as matter of strict Duty upon all? I think I have somewhere met with this Distinction in religious Writers.

Possibly you may, (replied he) but 'tis a Distinction without the least Foundation of Reason to support it. Whatever the Scriptures propose as a Counsel of real Perfection, must, to all who believe them, be matter of strict Duty; for all Christians are bound to become as perfect as they can. Admitting then that voluntary Poverty is any part of Christian Perfection, there will be a real Obligation upon all Christians to submit to it \*. And thus must

<sup>\*</sup> The learned Barbeyrac observes well upon this point, Chrétiens, comme tels, ne pourront qu'aspirer à une telle persection. Ils le devront meme, contre ce que

must the whole Christian World be reduced to a level, all obliged to a State of Beggary's and the several Distinctions of Civil Society, with the relative Duties a thing out of them, must intirely vanish wherever the Gospel is once introduced A strange Representation of things, Phile. mon, and most unworthy the supposed Author of Revelation! And yet unless this be allowed, I fee not how it can be any Men in People to whom Providence has allotted the Distinctions of Birth and Fortune to quit their proper Post and Duties, and by gar themselves, in order to administer to what upon their own way of Reasoning they must needs think, the superfluous in dulgences of other People. I remember to have read of a very rigid Pietist, the celebrated Mademoiselle Bourignon, who upon this very Principle, tho' she made little use of her Wealth in her own Person, would never be prevailed upon to distribute it in Charity to any body else. She could find no fit Objects upon whom to bestow her Liberality; none who would not make an ill use of it in administring to their Idlenels, or their Vices; " nullos adhuc inveni

que l'on suppose, car toutes les exhortations des Ecrivains sacrez tendent à imposer l'obligation indispensable de se persectioner, & de se rendre chacun de plus en plus agréable à Dieu. Traits de la Morale les Ports plus agréable à Dieu. Traits de la Morale les Ports phap. 8 sett. 15. r vere par all Requ Principle : of her o grong, ye msequence to renounce ity to tra certainly, ing of the do good firget not where he World, the n good W & differen from the falts.

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vere patipores," was her constant Reply all Requests of this nature \*. The the Principle the went upon, as indeed most of her other Principles, was extremely grong, yet the certainly reasoned right in insequence of it. For what it becomes me o renounce myfelf, I can have no Authon ity to transfer to other People. And yes ertainly, Philemon, this is not the Meanng of the Apostle, where he exhorts, thes do good, and to communicate, we should firget not +: nor in another of his Epiftles, there he charges them that one rich in this World, that they do good; that they be rich in good Works; ready to distribute |. to different is the Morality of the Gospel from the Refinements of fanciful Enthufaits.

Bur to go a little farther into this Point. Admitting that the only lawful We of Riches is, as our Apostle speaks, to be good, to be rich in good Works, I suppose item be no Diminution of any Act of Bo-

neficence,

Vellem ut occasionem haberem bona mea ad glotam Dei impendendi; tunc ne uno quidem die retinetem; sed nullam hucusque inveni: multi funt qui ca exiperent, sed non impenderent ad gloriam Dei, ut go facere destino. ap. Sechend. Apolog. Relatio. p. 78. 19. See Bayle's Dict. Vol. 1. under the Article Boutenon, Remark M.

<sup>†</sup> Heb. 13. 16.

neficence, that it is contrived to as to at once a Benefit to the Author, no la than to the Object of it. If at the fam time that I am supplying the Wants of thers, I can so order the Matter as to answer many good Purposes to myself in the wa of private and personal Accommodation is the Charity of fuch a Procedure at a deffened by its thus turning to a double Ac count? Surely, Philemon, there can be m Pretence to think fo. Now 'tis in the View that I would look upon Men o Rank and Fortune in Life, as Instrument in the hands of a kind and good Provi dence to administer to the Necessities an Occasions of those who move in a low Sphere, from the united Principles of G nerofity and private Interest. Their person Recreations and Amusements, the Er pences of their Station and Circumstance in the World, their very Luxuries, an most elegant Superfluities, (if you wi needs call every thing by that Name, the is not immediately necessary to our very & ing) tho' they are far from what a celebrate Author calls them, private Vices, as fuch do answer however to the other part of h Description of them, and both are, an ought to be imployed as, public Benefits The

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They are the proper Incouragements of bonest Industry; a kind of Tax upon the Liberality of those who are exempted by their superior Situation in Society from the Drudgeries of its more fervile Offices: They find Work and Maintenance for the labouring Poor, so necessary in all Communities; are the Support of many useful Trades and Imployments in the middle Stations of Life; the Foundation of a more extended Commerce both at home, and with foreign Nations; of that general Circulation of Property, by which, in the wife Appointment of things, the Abundance of a few is made fubservient to the Exigencies of the many. Where this View akes place, such a generous Oeconomy of our Pleasures fanctifies, as it were, the very Nature of them: it adds a Merit to Expence, converts Ornament into U/e, and Elegance into Charity. For my part, Phikmon, I know not a more enviable Chaafter than that of a truly great Man who; by a Generofity of thinking answerable to his superior Capacity of doing good, imploys his Fortune to all the Purposes of a agnificent Liberality; like a good Angel; kind of guardian Deity, to his Fellow-Creatures, diffusing Happiness far and wide

Vices, is what runs thro' that whole Piece; otherwife, (as all that Author's Pieces are) very ingeniously written.

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thro' a numerous Circle of grateful De. pendents; whilft, at the same time, by a wonderful Provision in Nature to reward so serviceable a Benevolence, the very Ob. jects of his Bounty, are the Instruments of his most valuable Gratifications. There is nothing, Philemon, I have observed to be more generally mistaken in a religious Account than the Notion of Charity: many People feem to confider Alms as what alone deserves that Name. As if it was not a greater, a more godlike Benevolence, to put the fame Persons above the hard Necessity of asking our Alms, than it is to relieve them upon their actual Application for them \*. To be touched with the immediate Symptoms of Wretched ness is no very high Degree of Excellency: he is a Scandal to his Kind who is not he But to concert calmly and fedately the mol effectua

\*The humane Moralist Seneca was of a very different opinion—Optimum est, says he, antecedent desiderium cujusque: proximum sequi. issue melius occupare antequam rogemur: quia cum homini probad rogandum os concurrat, & suffundatur rubor, qui hoc tormentum remittit, multiplicat munus suum Non tulit gratis, qui cum rogasset, accepit. De Barbib. 2. cap. 1. And again, cap. 2. Molestum verbus est, onerosum, & demisso vultu dicendum, rogo. Hu jus facienda est gratia amico, & cuicunque, quema micum sis promerendo sacturus. sero beneficium dedit qui roganti dedit.—It may perhaps be, that that ver circumstance is the chief Recommendation of this kin of Charity, which with many People is made an Objection

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effectual Measures of doing good, as it were, before it is even fought for, to cherish the fair Idea in our Minds, and by friendly Precautions of Benevolence to hinder, as far as may be, the very Entrance of Misery into the World, this is indeed a truly heroic Infrance of Virtue. And yet this is the very part which every Man of Distinction and Affluence is called upon to act, if he does but rationally confult his own greatest Entertainment and Happiness. Such is the Morality even of Pleajure, Philemon, in a true Estimate of things! so wonderfully are Virtue and Self-Gratification complicated together! I might add here, what has been already observed more at large, that the very Pursuit of Pleasure itself in the Infrances now fuggested, in the several Objects of Decency, Beauty, and Order, is not

jection to it, "that it does not appear to be fuch." It puts People upon acquiring for themselves a comfortable or convenient Subfistence, which, because it is the Refult of their own Labour and Industry, they consider as a Reward not of Grace, but of Debt. (Rom. 4. 4.) A very confiderable Inhancement this of the Value of it! To be the Authors of our own Happiness, being a much greater Pleasure to us, than to receive the ame Proportion of Good at the arbitrary Will of another.—We may add, that this is therefore the truest kind of Goodness, because it is indeed the Method of the Deity himself to all his Creatures. He gives them the Capacities of Happiness and of Virtue, and leaves the actual Acquisition of both in a great measure to themselves, that they may set the greater Value upon them.

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proposed into an actual Exercise of Virtue, but moreover has a natural Tendency to carry us on to still bigher Degrees of it: it being scarce possible but that to a considerate Man the same Principle of good Take which regulates his Amusements must irressistibly make its way into the Occonomy of his Mind and Temper; and lay the Foundations of solid Worth in his inward and moral Character \*.

I am afraid, (interposed I) Hortenfus this is too liberal a Method of Instruction thus to recommend Virtue as the Perfection of good Taste, and send us to the School of our most refined Pleasures to learn it in, ever to pass with our rigid la structors in Morality for a right one: Imposition, Command, and arbitrary Ap pointment are the Lessons they choose to teach us; and indeed they are the only ones that can be at all fitted to introduce the Rigors of their extravagant Systems Submittion and Restraint is with them al in all; and there is always the more of Grace in any Practice, the less there is a Nature. To cultivate a Tafte of mora Worth and Excellence from a Principle of Decency, is a Piece than of resist the new to be full Principle.

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† Nor.

<sup>\*</sup> See this Notion treated with the usual Elegand of that noble Author, in the Characteristics, Vol. III. Miscel. 3. Chap. 1, 2.

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CCOMPO.

Decency, Proportion, and Beauty in Actions, is a Piece of rank philosophic Pride, rather than of religious Humility. Our Conduct is then most valuable in itself, when there is the least Ground to think it so in our Apprehension of it. This Pride of Virtue is the Ruin of it; they can allow nothing to be such, that slows from so corrupt a Principle.

YET the Principle of Reverence to a Man's felf \* (returned Hortenfius) was thought fit to be inculcated by one of the wisest Moralists of Antiquity; and it will ever be a very just Foundation of moral Merit, in spight of all the visionary Conceits of spiritual Mortification. Pride, Philemon, is one of those Qualities in our Nature that is either good or bad, according as it is applied. To be proud of, or approve in ourselves, what is really excellent, is only to form a true Estimate of things: and can there be any Merit, as Mr. Norris, I remember, somewhere observes, in being mistaken +? 'Tis then only wrong, when it is placed upon wrong Objects; when

† Nor. as above, p. 346.

<sup>\*</sup> Παντων δε μαλις α αισχυνεω σ'αυτον,
Was one of the capital Precepts of Pythagoras's Morals, and perhaps (fays Mr. Norris) one of the best
too that ever was given to the World. Nor. Miscel8vo. 351.

we conceit ourselves of imaginary Worth and neglect what is real and genuine. If it be faid that every Degree of Pride is criminal in the present imperfect State of human Nature, what is this but to fav that it is impossible for Man to arrive at any Degree of moral Worth? an Opinion which, as fallen as he is represented to be cannot be maintained without a manifelt Dishonour to his Maker. But to state this Matter yet more clearly-If Compulsion be of the Essence of Virtue, as it is infinuated in the Objection you mention, the Conduct of the supreme Being himself has much less Merit in it than that of the most difingenuous of his Creatures; otherwife, what is a Perfection in the Deity, cannot but be fuch in Man too, as far as he is able to imitate it. Now to practife Virtue, the highest Degrees of Virtue, without Constraint; to pursue it upon a Principle of free Choice, for the mere Pleasure and Approbation of the thing itself, as his Glory, and his Happiness, is what constitutes our Idea of the divine Perfection: and shall the fame thing which gives such a superlative Grace and Lustre to the divine Character, cast a Shade upon the human? So that after all, Philemon, Constraint and Self-Denial is fo far from being necessary to Virtue, that 'tis mere Weakness and Want of Virtue that gives them either Use or Expediency.

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pediency. They are a Derogation from the true Merit of Virtue, as far as they are shewn to take place in it: and the bigbest State of moral Excellence is that where there is nothing of Diffatisfaction, nothing of Difficulty; where Virtue is, as it ever ought to be, a Service of perfect Freedom, generous Affection, and unallayed Complacency. But this perhaps may be thought refining. - Enough however has been argued from other less abstracted Topics to establish this general Conclusion upon the whole, " that however the "Pursuits of Pleasure and Virtue are " often reprefented as inconfiftent, the na-" tural Constitution of things, a most " certain Testimony of the Intention of " their Author, is fuch as never can be re-" conciled with this gloomy Principle." Providence, which does nothing in vain, would not have fo exquisitely adapted the Works of his hands to the Entertainment and Service of Man, if Mifery of any kind had been his determined Portion and Affignment in the prefent Life. The Difcipline of Virtue is then an easy and a liberal Discipline. They are Strangers to the lovely Form, who represent her to our view with a forbidding Aspect, with nothing but Clouds and Frowns upon her Brow. The Practice of our Duty is in the strictest Sense to follow Nature: and the the way to recommend ourselves to a kind and good Deity is not to barass and afflict that Being he has in his gracious Bounty bestowed upon us; but, upon a rational and judicious Estimate of things, to consult in the most effectual manner at once the greatest Ease, Happiness, and Improvement of it. How different, Philemon, has been the general Turn of Religion in the World!

You promised, (said I) Hortensius, to give me some Account of this Matter: but we have dwelt so long upon some previous Points, that we are got, I perceive, almost to the End of our Walk; and the Evening is too far advanced upon us to think of staying abroad any longer.——I hope, however, you will be as good as your word at some other Opportunity.

WHENEVER you please to call upon me, (returned he) I shall be ready to answer my Ingagement. We have established a good general Foundation to proceed upon in this Question; and may reserve the farther Discussion of it to our future Leisure of Inclination.

AND thus, my Hydaspes, I have brought you to a very commodious Resting-Place in this Argument: and shall accordingly take

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my leave of you for the present; h a Promise of continuing my Reof our farther Conference, if you think it worth your while to require of me,

FINIS.

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### HYDASPES;

#### RELATING

A Third CONVERSATION with Hortensius, upon the Subject of False Religion.

#### IN WHICH

Some GENERAL ACCOUNT is indeavoured to be given of the Rise and Constitution of False Theory in Religion in the earlier Pagan World.

#### The THIRD EDITION.



#### LONDON:

Printed for DAN. BROWNE, without Temple-Bar.
M.DCC.LIII.

# HYDASPES

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## HYDASPES, &c.

HAVE been doubting, Hydaspes, with myself, considering the very savourable Reception you have given my two late Addresses to you in this moral kind, whether it was really safe for me to proceed any farther with them. The moral Relish, as it seemed, was gaining too fast upon you. A certain Habit of more than ordinary Seriousness, towards which I could not but observe you inclining, however it might improve you as a Philosopher, would go near to spoil you as a Man

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of the World; as threatning to diffurb that easy Infignificance of Manner, and Relar ation of Thought and Temper, which is the admired Excellency and Distinction of the Character. But here, methought, the Seruple began to remove, when upon Recollection it appeared, that the whole Foundation of it was laid in a gross Fallacy and Mistake "That Solemnity is a necessary Branch of " true Seriousness." For if indeed the two Ideas were perfectly different, there could be no occasion for your renouncing any part of the agreeable Sprightlines of your Polite Character, in order to fave the Dignity of your Philosophic one. They might yet, for any thing I could differn to the contrary, maintain with perfect Confistence their distinct Provinces, and each have its Privilege of In many Cases it might even be neceffary they should unite in one common Cause and Interest; and, with equal Propriety, and Advantage to each other, demand a joint Interpolition and Authority in the very fame Article of Life. The Caution of the Philosopher might sometimes be of singular Use to restrain the Indecencies of a too licentious Freedom; and the Sprightliness of a well conducted Freedom, to temper the Rigors of a too scrupulous Philosophy. Particularly, if, in the course of severer Thought, Religion should sometimes fall under confideration, there seemed here an indispensa-

ble Necef Fancies, against th devout Je friendly E cholic Im itself fron fectly con Truth, fr tance of it tragic Vei a compete Stock of g or we sha of it in t often ende complaine quent Exa which, H it, has in A you have. neral Intro Hortenfius fiderable . gaged hin has exam primitive ! ligion, in Occasion ( to acquair

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ble Necessity for playing certain sprightlier Fancies, and Ideas of a more cheerful Afpect, against the variously disquieting Phantoms of devout Jealoufy; and fuch morofe and unfriendly Exhibitions of Divinity, as a melancholic Imagination might be apt to form to itself from a Nature, powerful, but imperfeelly comprehended. Religion; in plain Truth, from the mere Weight and Importance of its Subject, runs so naturally into the tragic Vein, that we must arm ourselves with a competent Pleasantry of Disposition, and Stock of good Spirits, before we let about it, or we shall certainly make a thorow Tragedy of it in the End. Thus indeed it has too often ended in Fact; as the Poet long ago complained \*, and you will have too frequent Examples in that Report of its History, which, Hortenfius, if you continue to require it, has instructed me to make to you. you have now before you, is a kind of general Introduction to this Subject. In which, Hortensius, by way of Key to the more confiderable Articles, he had, you know, ingaged himself to speak to, of false Practice, has examined briefly into the Origin, and primitive Constitution of falle Theory in Religion, in the Pagan World. The particular Occasion of which Disquisition was, I hasten to acquaint you, as follows.

\* Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

Lucret. lib. 1.

B 2

PART



### PART H. mento

Breakfast, alone in the Possession of Hortensius in his Study; we have now (said I to him) an excellent Opportunity, if you have no particular Engagement of your own upon your Hands, to resume the Subject of our Conversation the other Night \*. You then abundantly convinced me of the wretched Absurdity of False Religion; I wish you would now proceed to the Execution of your Promise to me in conclusion, of running over with me the general History of it in the World.

THE History of False Religion (said he) Philemon, is the History of all those numberless Misapplications to which the Apprehension of superior invisible Agency in the Universe; as reasonable, as is natural, to precarious and dependent Humanity; is liable, from the ignorant and cowardly Credulity of one Part of our Species; and the subtil enterprizing Sagacity, and Invention of

the other. in the re with all t nough to nough to Origin in trace bac tion to a multiplie the Strai disclose a prehenfio fponding Crafty. gion—a. fo connec ral, that presuppor Nor need lequence required Nature fo with, to and defed mote Hi of the R ried in i tempt to fruitless,

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<sup>\*</sup> See a Pamphlet intitled, Phil. to Hyd. Part II.

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the other. 'Tis a Subject of equal Extent, in the religious Confideration of Mankind, with all that Folly has ever been weak cnough to submit to; or Knavery artful enough to authorize. To trace it back to its Origin in the World, is, in a Manner, to trace back human Absurdity and Corruption to a first Period. It is to detect all the multiplied Delufions of the Mistaken; and the Stratagems of the Defigning: To disclose all the secret Occasions of Misapprehension to the Simple; all the correfoonding Opportunities of Imposture to the Crafty. Such is the History of False Religion—a History, I need not observe to you, so connected with that of Mankind in general, that an accurate Delineation of the one presupposes an exact Knowledge of the other. Nor need I suggest to you the necessary Consequence of this Observation; the Allowance required to be made in a Research of this Nature for, what you are too well acquainted with, to be here informed of, the doubtful and defective State of more ancient and remote History. The truth is, a great part of the Ritual of ancient Superstition lies buned in impenetrable Obscurity. tempt to explain it would now-a-days be as fruitless, as of old it would probably have been held irreverent or criminal. But notwithstanding in the Progressive Advancements of its Empire, we may be too often at a loss to adjust the true Reason and Meaning of particular Institutions, we may, I think discern enough of its more general Scape and Tendency, to satisfy ourselves upon competent Evidence and Observation in this regard that however, in the variety of Seasons and Circumstances, the Engines of its Turnany have been almost infinitely diversified, the Spirit of it has been always on and the same." It has, in short, been ever doing just what it is at this day; in slaving the Minds, perverting the Affections harasting the Persons, and ingrossing to its self the Properties of Mankind,

Qualis ab incepto processit:

To fix fome Method to our Inquiry, Philemon, you must give me leave to transport you for a while, from the more familial Scenes of European Slavery of this Sort, to that favourite Realm, and if not originally Parent-Soil of Superstition (as it was by some of its own fanciful Naturalists said to be of the Species of Mankind \*,) yet doubtes wonderfully successful one in the universal Culture and Improvement of it; Egypt \*

If the ha Merit of to herself of Example portations tries, espe Mands, C with her I as her ov thro' the World. the frequer Egypt, in 1 cian Litera of knowin ftoms of E equal Anti high for W Estimation have of eit this Wisdo have good Religion a poles of a was the Cr her Philos the more i ticipation kinds. H

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Φασιυ Αιγυπλιοι καλα τηυ εξ αρχης τωυ όλω γε υεσιυ ωρωλες Αυθρωπες γευεσθαι καλα τηυ Αιγυπλου, δια το την ευκρασιαυ της χωρας, και δια τηυ Φυσιυ του Νειλου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 9.

Τ Αιγυπίοι Θεοσεβεες δε περισσως εονίες μαλισα πανίων Ανθρωπων. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 37.

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p. 9.

If the had not in first Truth the proper Merit of original Invention, the has engroffed. to herself however, almost the whole Glory of Example in the kind , having by early Exportations of her Natives to foreign Counries, especially to Greece, and the Afiatic Islands, circulated her Superstitions together with her Discoveries of a happier Influence, as her own proper Growth and Produce, thro' the far greatest Part of the western World. We have moreover, by means of the frequent Communications of Greece with Egypt, in the more advanced Periods of Grecian Literature, an Opportunity afforded us of knowing much more of the religious Cufloms of Egypt, than of any other Nation of equal Antiquity. Her Reputation was very high for Wifdom, both in facred and profane Estimation, from the earliest Monuments we have of either. And one great Instance of this Wisdom she so much excelled in, we have good reason to believe, was the Science of Religion apply'd, as the thought, to the Purpoles of a more improved Legislation. It was the Credit of this, together with that of her Philosophy in general, that drew over the more inquisitive Wits of Greece to a Participation of her important Secrets in both kinds. Her Colleges were esteemed the great Repositories of useful Knowledge. And Travelling was in those times, as it is still in

our own, Philemon, reputed the finishing

a backet however, almost the went Bloss THERE cannot be a ftronger Image of Ridicule, (I could not help here interrupting) Hortenfius, than arises from the Comparison of certain modifib Travellers of later Age. with the travell'd Literati of Antiquity Methinks, 'tis great pity we should still re tain a Reverence for the mere outward Cere mony of this Practice, while, as it is too of ten managed, it ferves little other purpole than to reproach us with having altogether forgot, or mistaken the main End and Refon of it. It was the Improvement of the Mind, not barely the forming a Person, or acquiring only a little fprightly Impertinence, and modifh Address, that was thought worth travelling for in the Judgment of ancient Wisdom. Had any of the Travelled of those Days been found to have returned to their own Country with the Importation only of foreign Vice, Folly, and Extravagance, instead of useful Information, improved Curofity, and real Knowledge; they would have been esteemed to have done something much worse than barely making a foreign Tour ridiculous.

THEY certainly would so, (returned Hortensius) but the mischief is, we are come to look upon Travelling as an Accomplishment merely

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merely of the police Kind, instead of what the Ancients did, as, principally at least, of the learned one. And as both our Notion of, and Preparation for it, are extremely different from theirs, 'tis no wonder our Success in it should be so too. They set out. s you have rightly observed, upon quite other Views than a bare fashionable Ramble, or Opportunity of genteel Expence. If they vifited an Egyptian Convent, it was not only to be able to report its Situation, or its Architesture, but to learn its Mysteries. To acquaint themselves with the Substance and History of its Discoveries either in Science or Religion; and observe the real Ground and Foundation of that awful Reverence from the Populace of its particular District, which Supported both its Wealth and Dignity. This was penetrating into the intire Secrets of the Order; and would, if compassed, as it was only to be, by certain preparative Disciplines of Sacerdotal Appointment, and fometimes very tedious Applications to the Interests, or Vanity of the Priesthood, afford them that Light into the general Theory and Constitution of the popular Worship of the country, which, with due Referves to the frofound Sanctity of the important Subject, in many Cafes to be adored only, without being publickly comprehended; they have feveal of them transmitted to Posterity.

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IT was a remarkable Instance (said I) of this referved Manner, and uncommunicative Closeness of the Egyptian Hierarchy, what Strabo relates of Plato and Eudoxus; " that in a stay of thirteen Years in Egypt, " and a course of constant Application and " Obsequiousness to the Priests of Heliopolis. " they at length with great Difficulty extort. " ed from them the Discovery, that the true " Measure of the Year consisted of fix Hours " over and above the common Reckoning " then used in Greece \*." One would have thought, the Reputation of being the Difcoverers in this Case, should have inclined them to a readier Communication of what could not but heighten their learned Character. If they esteemed the Observation, as it certainly was, a very important one to the Service of common Life, it was furely a most unbenevolent Policy in them to affect to make a Mystery of it; a Narrowness of Thinking not easily to be forgiven in such knowing and facred Characters.

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least expe riftic of 1 ligion. I perienced one, intro T other. reserved I cerns, tha neral, and in other M Pythagora. been speak Admittano is at large bbon \*. E a royal M at the Rec masis, he c Execution over from tain Puncti veral Estat Memphis, a where, who pleasure of vifle with h ver to disc he barbaro

\* Porph. de

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<sup>\*</sup> Συνδιείριψαν τοις ίερευσιν εκεινοι ενίαυθα τρισκαιδεκα ετη περιτίους γαρ ονίας καία την επις ημην τω ουρανιών, μυς ικους δε και δυσμείαδοίους, τω χρονώ και των ίς ορησαι — τα επίθεχουτα της ήμερας και τω υνκίος μορια ταις τριακοσιαις έξηκονία πενίε ήμεραις εκ την εκπληρωσιν του ενιαυίου χρονου παρεδοσαν. Strab. Geog. Lib. 17. p. 806.

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Strab.

An Affectation of Mystery (returned Hortenfius) even in Subjects where one would hast expect it, was the prevailing Characteriftic of Egyptian Literature, as well as Religion. I believe the fingular Use they experienced it to be of in the Purposes of the one, introduced the Practice of it into the other. They had fo many Occasions for the reserved Manner in their Theological Concerns, that the Habit by degrees became general, and extended itself to their Conduct in other Matters. The Difficulty with which Pythagoras, long before the Times you have been speaking of, obtained the Honour of Admittance to the Arcana of the facred Tribe, is at large related by Porphyry from Antibon\*. Even with the Recommendation of a royal Mandate for the Purpose, obtained at the Request of Polycrates from King Amass, he could hardly at last succeed in the Execution of his Defign; but was turned over from one College to another, upon cerain Punctilio's of Ceremony between the feveral Establishments; from Heliopolis, to Memphis, and from thence again to Thebes; where, when for fear of incurring the Difpleasure of the King, the Priests durst not tifle with him any longer; they hoped howwer to discourage him from his Pursuit, by he barbarous Severity of their preparatory Dif

<sup>\*</sup> Porph. de Vita Pythag. p. 183.

Disciplines, and Rites of Initation . But finding him still resolute and persevering, they at length fairly took him into their Sc. cret; and, as appears by his After-Conduct made a thorow Mystic of him. But in truth Philemon, they had a better Reason than merely an acquired Moroseness, or Reserve becoming the Stateliness of a more raised and dignified Character, for adopting this for Manner, and eautious Ceremony into their Philosophic Teaching; fince in reality, the very foundation of their instituted Religion, and all its important Mysteries was laid in certain Dogmata or Principles of their Phi-" It was the Worship of the several losophy. " Powers, and Passions of external Nature " exemplified by an artificial Accommoda-" tion in the History, Adventures, and Suffer-" ings, of certain of their earliest Heroes, and " great Men of Antiquity; whose Benefac-" tions to their Country and commonest Pal-" fages of Life, were by Time, and a fuc-" ceffively heightened Tradition, wrought " up to that critical Measure of Obscurity, " which in the Language of a late polite " Author of your Acquaintance, is the best " Light to place a Wonder in +: that in the

+ The Life of Homer, p. 277.

" Sace " Body u thort much t dinary Inventi fection **fucceed** Antiqu dom of dust an own C Influen Origin often be Was, 1 Reveren Support Suffrage Point, ing ind votion of Supe and def of Con particul

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<sup>\*</sup> Νομισαυτων εν τω μεγεθει της κακοπαθειας ατοσποειν αυθον της εκδολης, προσθαγμαθα σκληρα και κιχωρισμενα της έλληνικης αγωγης κελευσαι υπομειναι αυτον. Ubi fupra.

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" due Progress and Refinement of Regal and " Sacerdotal Politics, made up the flanding " Body and complete System of Egyptian au-" thorized Theology \*." It was a Work of much time, Philemon, and required no ordinary Reach of Thought, and Subtilty of Invention to bring it to that approved Perfection in the Kind, as to give the Law to all succeeding religious Establishments of Pagan Antiquity; and having drawn over the Wifdom of Greece to an Examination of its Conduct and Genius, to fend them back to their own Country resolved within their respective Influences to introduce its Practice. The Origin of all this Parade of elaborate, and too often barbarous Heroe-physiologic Superstition, was, if you will take the Word of a Right Reverend Greek Historian of Christian times, supported in his Affertion by the unanimous Suffrage of the best Pagan Authorities in the Point, extremely fimple and popular. ing indeed nothing else but the artless Devotion which minds naturally apprehensive of superior active Power in the Universe, and defirous at the same time, for the ease both of Conception and Address, to affign it some particular visible Residence, could not avoid paying

<sup>\*</sup>Quippe Sacerdotes Historiæ, ac Naturæ gnari, attendebant in re Gesta quid simile foret in Naturæ: ac pro utroque formabant sacra sua. Voss. de Idel. Lib. 2. Cap. 56. p. 617, 4to.

paying to the most striking, operative, and useful Objects they had any acquaintance with, the Sun, Moon, and Host of Heaven \*.

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OF all the various kinds of idolatrous Worfhip (interposed I) this surely, Hortensius, is
the most innocent, or at least excusable one.
Tis well for us, even in these Ages of improved Light and Information, that the Familiarity of these Objects has a natural Effect
to abate the Wonder, and awful Impression
of them; or I question, whether our Religion itself would be sometimes found a sufficient Check to prevent our relapsing into
Paganism in this Article. Seriously, Hortensius, a Man had need be of a more than
ordinarily cautious and philosophic Make, or
an infinitely stupid and insensible one, to attend

tend the Sunshine than a Struck w jesty of the gladsome ment of is it to fu eager Gra nation to How dis Phyfics, Infection and feen auspiciou. animated Example politer W own'd, tions to being sta certain f the Prin has thro ment of in the voluptas by vulg all who nough

Scene,

<sup>\*</sup> Αλλ' ότι μεν όι πρωτοι και παλαιοίατοι των ανθρωπων, ουθε ναων οικοδομιαις προσειχου, ουθε ξοανων αφιδρωπης, η ανδριαντοποιηθικης τεχνης εφευρημενης, ουδε μεν οικοδομικης, ουδε αρχιθεκίονικης, συνες ποης, πανθιαν αυθοις Σευς, ου Κρουθ, ου Ποσειδων, ουκ Απολλων, ουκ Ήρα, ουκ Αθηνα, ου Διουυσος, ουδε τις έτερθ, θηλεια τε και αρρην θεθ, όιοι μεθα ταυθα μυριοι παρα τε Βαρβαροις και Έλλησιν αλλ' ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ, η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ' ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ, η φαυλθ αντικ Ελλησιν αλλ' ουδε σαιμων τις αγαθθ, η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ, η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Έλλησιν αλλ ουδε δαιμων τις αγαθθ. Η φαυλθ και Εναμβανου τις αναθος και Εναμβανου τις αναθος και διανου τις αναθος και διανου και διαν

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tend the illustrious Solemnities of opening Sunshine, without some warmer Emotions than a merely speculative Admiration! Struck with the furpaffing Splendor and Majefty of the Appearance, and cheared by the gladsome Influences, and intimate Refreshment of the all-inlivening Beam, how hard is it to suppress the rising Transports of a too eager Gratitude, and guard against the Inclination to something of immediate Devotion! How difficult, even with the Help of his Physics, as well as of his Creed, to repel the Infection of that universal Chorus of Joy, and seemingly-religious Acclamation of the auspicious Presence, of which all inferior animated Nature affords him the inticing Example! But happily for the Faith of the politer World, Hortenfius, who, it must be own'd, are most in Danger from Temptations to renounce it, they are in no peril of being stagger'd in it from this Quarter. A certain false Refinement of Living, supposed the Privilege of higher Birth and Education, has thrown a Discredit upon the Entertainment of this embellished early Scene, as being in the Poet's Language—Usu plebeio trita voluptas \* -a Species of Pleasure disgraced by vulgar Use; and its being accessible to all who have Sense enough, or Nature enough left in them, to partake of it! a Scene, Hortenfius. which, because it affords the

<sup>\*</sup> Petron. Arb.

(B)

the commonest, does for that very Reason in the beneficent Appointment of Things afford likewise the most exquisite Entertainment! an Entertainment of fuch unparallel'd Beauty, Delicacy, and Magnificence, that the most elaborate Refinements of human Art and Elegance; the heighten'd Ornaments and august Grandeurs of a Palace; the glittering Occonomy and wanton Luftres of an Assembly; the studied Pegeantry and Decorations of a Theatre; bide their diminished Heads, and shrink into nothing upon the Comparison! I am fallen, Hortenfius, as you fee, into a kind of natural Enthusafm. But really the Image here is fo transporting, even to us who view it in the mild Lights of a Philosophy, no less than a Religion, conspiring to weaken the Force of it; that in Ages far less improved in both, I see not how it was possible not to be missed by it, without some supernatural Affistance to Nor can I well conceive it that Purpose. within the Capacity of a more ignorant and uninformed Simplicity, in the first Ages of Mankind, to withstand, without some previous Guard from immediate Revelation, the Seducements of so specious an Idolatry. How naturally would the inquisitive Curiofity of recent and wondering Mortals, & qually unfurnished with the Materials, and unpractifed in the Arts of more correct and philosophic Reasoning, not only address itself,

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in where it is renker, when Tempers The golden Sun in splendor likest Heaven;

escal fixed in tesm to been Equally fuited to allure both their Eyes and their Adoration: But even presume it had received a very fatisfactory Answer in the Point; when it had ascribed the Origin of their own Existence, and the whole World's about them, to this feemingly adequate Cause, and genial Power of the System! Especially, would it be inclined to do so, when having first experienc'd the Horrors of his Absence, and in the Gloom and Sadness of the Night despaired of any lasting Continuance of Being, they discovered him at his appointed Season returning again in the East; the Restorer of Light, and Comfort, and Renewer of a suspected perishing World! when, as our Poet speaks; The land of the land the land of the second of the land of the lan

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First in the East his glorious Lamp was seen, Regent of Day; and all th' Horizon round, Invested with bright Rays——\*

Under these Circumstances, Hortensius, I can think of no expedient to prevent Men's instantly falling down and worshipping him but an authoritative Interposal and Prohibition from His, and Their, immediate Make. In short, Hortensius, the Temptations in new-formed and uninstructed Man to a wrong Religion seem to be so powerful, that I cannot imagine he could of bimself in many Ages reason out a right one.

You have given the Reins to your Fancy frefumed Hortenfius, with his whiel Com plaifance) very entertainingly, Philenon. was unwilling to interrupt your flew o Thought, and check your agreeable Enthu fialin, or I could have told you I was full possest of your Sentiment some time ago You would have the first Man fupernatural ly let into the true Notion of a Deity, not h properly to preclude his rational Inquiries con cerning One, as to direct them. To preven the Delufions of a too hafty Imagination and put him upon a right Scent and Train of Thinking. Rather to guard him again Error, than to teach him positive Truth Religion

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<sup>\*</sup> Par. Loft, Book 7. 370-1.]

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Religion, the great Lines of it, were undoubtedly intended to be the Deductions, as they are fairly within the compass, of found Reason. If any supernatural Discovery of hem was at first made, it was, we may imaine, however, of the most general Kind; and defigned only to supply the Place of hat Reasoning and Philosophy, which as net was necessarily of impracticable attempt, hro' the defect of those requisite Materials o it, a previous competent Acquaintance with, and Observation of Things: Howver, in its proper Season and Opportunities f Exercise, it was manifestly ordained, as is thorowly qualified, of Heaven, to be he Instrument to Mankind, of affuring to hemselves the same important Truths upon Principles of a rational Conviction.

I would not be understood (said I) Horinfus, in any wife to undervalue the Evience and Authority of Reason. Nor can , indeed, fee any Disparagement to it in upposing, that it could not go to work vithout necessary Instruments; or that a faculty of Judging upon examined Evience could not exert itself, 'till such Evience was laid before it: any more than I an discover the Justness of that Conclusion which some would establish from hence; Religion hat Reason, now in its Maturity of Age and

per Arbitrator in Matters of Religion. It feems to me to be afferting, that because Reason cannot proceed without Ideas; therefore it cannot afterwards with them. Because a Man has no Use of his Eye-sight in the Dark, therefore he is to distrust the Reports of it in open Day. A Disingenuity of Thinking, which shews either a very weak Cause, or a very injudicious, as well as unfair Management of it.

ONE may, I think, from hence discend pretty clearly (reply'd Hortensius) the high Ridicule and Absurdity of those pompour Representations which are sometimes given us of the superior Wisdom, and almost And gelic Penetration, of the surface Parent of Mankind, upon his new Introduction into the World. And with how unwarrantable a Civility he is by some Writers of his Hissory complimented into a Degree of Under standing, and Force of Genius, so much be yould the utmost Reach and Comprehension of his Posterity\*. He had, it should seem that

πρωτος καλοιτο σοφος, ως παντων των χαριτων υπαρχι πρωτος καλοιτο σοφος, ως παντων των χαριτων υπαρχι τα της ψυχης τε και σωματος αισθητηρια, μαρμαρυγε τα της ψυχης τε και σωματος αισθητηρια, μαρμαρυγε και θειων ευνοίων τε και ενεργειων πληθουσαι, κατα πασε εισετρεχο however fully fully funatural we fee, Expediant In

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little cause to be conceited of the Privilege, however he had done well to have thankfully submitted to the Authority of a supernatural Guidance and Direction; of which, we see, the whole Reason, Opportunity, and Expedience, arose meerly from his own personal Incapacity, and natural Ignorance.

Is the intellectual Advantages of our first Parent (interpos'd I) had been really so much superior to those of all his Descendents, as they are sometimes said to have been; methinks all who have any Tenderness for his Reputation should choose rather to conceal the Superiority of his Talents, than display them to the so much greater Reproach of his shameful Negligence and Misconduct in the Use and Application of them; for which,

εισετρεχου Φυσιν. Suidas voce Adam. Upon which the learned Editor very justly remarks, Auctorem hunc anonymum exiguo Judicio præditum fuisse, et verè de eo dici potuisse proverbiale illud, "Flumen verborum, et gutta Mentis" ex tota hac de Adam Ecloga fatis apparet. -----It was, no doubt, in Virtue of these superior Talents, that upon a very flight Experience in the Kind, ne was nevertheless able to write, as the Rabbins inform us he did, de omnibus et fingulis Mundanarum rerum virtutibus.-Unless these, together with the several Revolutions of Nature, were part of those Instructions from above, which the same Authors relate to have been the Subject of the Book of the Generations of Adam; mention'd Gen. 5. 1. and in which, it seems, were explained, omnia a Principio Mundi usque ad consummationem Ejus. Vid. Kircheri Obel. Pamph. Lib. 1. Cap. I.

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if it be true, that he was indeed the wifell I am fure it is much more fo, that he was incomparably the weakeft, as well as wickedeft of his whole Kind. But after all, Horten fins, I think we have no Reason to suppose that he was at all different from the Generality of his Species, either in his ma. tural or moral Accomplishments; farther than what the necessary Difference of his Situation and Circumstances made him. Which, if they might be in some respects perhaps rather more favourable to the latter, as administring fewer Opportunities of Temp. tation within the few Relations he could then be supposed to act under; (the' the Event thews he yet found Means to transgress even them) were certainly far less so to the former; his natural Indowments; than those of any of his Posterity. Inasmuch as it was his peculiar Difadvantage, a Difadvantage arising out of the very Necessity of his Condition; to want all those Helps to his Judgment of Things, from the Experience, Observation, and Reasoning of past Times, which are in a manner bereditary to later Ages, and fet them much forwarder in Informations of all forts necessary to the Conduct of Life, almost in the first Article of it, than a fingle Individual could be supposed to be at the conclusion of a very confiderable old Age. But to leave our venerable Progenitor to the quiet Poffession of all that

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that really is his due, of whatever Kind; let us pursue our main Subject of Inquiry, Hortenfius; in which, I suppose, he is very little concerned. For whatever other Faults he may be charged with, I imagine he was karcely guilty of Superficien.

HAVE a care of being too fanguine, Philemon (returned Mortenfias) I doubt I could disprove your Conjecture, if I was to difpoled; and produce Dvidence, fuch as it is, of his being not only infected with, but even Author of a very prevailing Superflition in Antiquity; the religious Adoration of the Moon. 'Tis true, the fame Authorities well us, that he had received Obligations from her as his native Soil and Country; where, prepared with requifite Infeructions for the Gremony of her Apotheofis, he was fent down to the Earth to appoint in due Time her focred Ritual and Liturgy; in a Chaafter he was to fuftain from her previous Defignation, of the Embassador or Apostle of this Queen of Heaven\*. His Son Seth indeed was Auggered at this new Doctrine, and Institution; and could not be prevailed

<sup>\*</sup> It was Part of the Zabian Creed, derived to them, as we learn from Kircher, from the Family of Cham; to wit, Chus, Phut, and Canaan, the Peoplers of Mia and Africa; Manum e Luna produite. Prophetam inibi ex masculo et sæmina procreatum; atque in hunc mundum venientem primum cultum Luna docuille. Vid. Oedip. Ægypt. p. 166.

upon to admit the Credentials of his Father's Mission \*; but Cain was of less scrupulous Make, and paid all due Reverence to this Lunar Envoyship; and has accordingly the honour in some Writers I could name, of standing second in the List of Antediluvian Idolaters †.

I HOPE (said I) Hortensius, this lunar Apostleship and Designation of our first Parent was no part of those Revelations made to him when he fell into a deep Sleep; which, if I mistake not, I have somewhere read, he is mentioned by one of the Fathers ‡, as being reported to have himself committed to writing; to the, no doubt, wonderful Information of his Posterity, if we had but been so fortunate as to have this important paradifiacal Vision conveyed safely down to us.

IT might, I think, be more naturally recorded (replied Hortenfius) in another Composition of this truly original Author's, mentioned by St. Austin. The Book of his Pentence.

FROM whence (said I) as a Pattern of Right-primitive Discipline, who knows,

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<sup>\*</sup> Seth contradixit opinioni patris sui in servition Lunæ—Ub. Sup.

<sup>+</sup> See Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho.

<sup>†</sup> Epiphanius

but the Father himself might take the useful Hint of his own Confessions? as, to carry the Analogy a little farther, from the Tradition I was speaking of, of the Protoplast's being himself so powerfully Vision-struck, it may possibly have come to pass, that most of those Writers who have attempted his History, have thought it necessary to obtain a proper Touch of the Visionary-passion.

THESE Instances (resum'd Hortensius) Conceits about our first Parent, to which numberless others might be added from Christian Fathers, as well as Jewish Rabins, or Arabic Legendaries; if they are at int fight more obviously ridiculous, are blieve me, full as well-grounded, as some maginations of a much foberer Aspect, which ave been indulged by better Authors, upon he same subject. Seriously, Philemon. when one confiders the Volumes that have een here filled with Romances, both of he grave, and the lighter kind, it might almost incline one to suspect something more than a mere Arabian Whimsey in the Hypothesis of the lunar Apostolate, and that the great Prophet of the Moon had really made very free with certain Influences of is principal Deity, in distempering the Minds of his inspired Train; were it not, hat avoiding all unhandsome Reflections ther on the Goddess, or her Minister, one

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can pretty eafily solve the Problem anothe Writer h Way; without stirring a Foot from the Surface of our Mother Earth. In short Philemon, Men will be concluding withou Premises. They first devise, each according to his particular Genius, a System of Opi nions; and then torture both Fact and in vention to furnish out Proofs. They in throne an Idol Presence in the Court of the own Brain, and then industriously cast about for Evidences to make out the Phantom Title to Adoration.

AND they had need have the Lynx's Bean (I interposed) to discern any Countenant to some Idol-Theories I could name, from the only Authority they have any Right appeal to in the Case; the few imperfe Hints afforded us of the History and Ci cumstances of the new Creation, within the compass of three Chapters only of our B ble, and those perhaps of more intricate an disputable Interpretation, than any others i the whole facred Collection.

THE more obscure the better, (returns Hortensius;) Are not you aware, Philema that there is always most room for Consized it to jecture, where there is least certainty beginning Fact? and 'tis that after all which furnish would not Materials to the endless Volumes we have dequate of been speaking of; and gives, as an excelle Write

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anothe Writer has it, such a Roundness to some avourite Systems of Divinity \*. A few Hints well managed, with an Invention to without ipply Chasms, and help out Deficiencies, cordin will work Wonders in the kind.

FOR our Comfort (replied I) we have hey in the present no concern with these Systematic Gentlemen. 'Tis true, I have carried up our Thoughts to a first Man, whom I have apposed both supernaturally produced, and offructed. But I have no desire to ingage on in any of the subsequent Perplexities of he paradifiacal State. I am for leaving the solution of these Difficulties to more authoized Expositors; who can talk as fami-Right to harly both of the natural, and moral Himperse story of that State, as if they themselves had and Circumstant of the Party with their venerable Prothin the genitor; or the several Transactions supposed our B to have passed there, were Matters of every Day's Occurrence. The Principle I am leading for neither requires their Affistance a its support, nor stands charged with any of their. Absurdities. 'Tis such a one as mere good Sense would lead us to acquiesce n, if an inspired Historian had not authoized it to us. The Species must have had beginning; and an Effect of this Nature wild not have been produced without some we have dequate Cause; and what so suitable Agent

<sup>\*</sup> Warburton's Div. Leg. of Moses, p. 402.

can we imploy here, as an omnipotent and infinitely benevolent Deity? Then as to a divine Instruction, it seems as necessary to the right Institution of the infant moral World, as a divine Agency to the Being of the natural One. In both Cases, I think, we do not bring in a Deus ex Machina only; the Introduction of him seems equally unavoidable, as it is important.

I AM in the number of the most confirmed Believers (return'd Hortensius) as to the first of these Articles; and I think there is a strong probability of the second. Yet, methinks, I am a little staggered to reconcile such a seeming tenderness and concern of Heaven in the Cause of true Religion, with that early Introduction, and almost boundless consequent Empire, of which I am going to give you in some fort the History, of False.

However early it came into the World, (replied I) Hortensius, notwithstanding the kind Caution I am pleading for, it would certainly have come in earlier without it. It must indeed in this Case, as it should seem, have been strictly coeval with the Species of Mankind. And surely such an apparent necessitating Men to a wrong Worship, is at least a barder Thought of infinite Wisdom and Veracity, than a mere Permission

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mission of them, in the neglect or abuse of their natural Understanding and Liberty, to fall off from a prescribed right one. We are apt, it may be, to over-rate both the Measure. and the Force, of these original Suggestions; as much as fome have done the natural Powers of the first Man. As if all superior Interposition must either be extended to the establishing a complete System of speculative Religion; or prevail to the absolute Determination of the human Will to that which is practical. Doubtless the Voice of Heaven in these early Notices to its infant Creature was altogether of the fill small Kind. The Impulse was, as it ought to be, extremely gentle, fuited to the natural Freedom of the interested Party. And the Effect of it, we may imagine, was like that of the fam'd Socratic Genius, chiefly of the restraining fort: calculated more to prevent a misapplied Devotion, than to institute a perfectly rational One. Perhaps a more forcible Application, or a superior Degree of infused Light, would have been incompatible with that rational Liberty of Man, which is the valuable Distinction of the Homage of an intelligent moral Creature, from the implicit Submiffion, and overruled Obedience of a mere senseless Infrument, or Machine. Upon the whole, whatever be the right Determination of this Point, there is, I am sensible, no disputing against Fact. But pray, how soon do you suppose, a false Religion to have actually taken place in the World?

I was for giving the Difficulty (return'd he) its utmost force; in order to hear what you would find to fay in extenuation of it. For to deal ingenuously with you, Philemon. I do not believe the Introduction of falle Religion was near so early as it has been sometimes represented; or that indeed there was any fuch Thing in Being within the fixteen hundred Years of the Antediluvian World. I am sensible, if I was disposed to pay any great Deference to a Fragment of Phænician History, the Credit of which has been fo zealously afferted by a great Writer of Epifcopal Dignity in our own Country; I could fix the Date of false Worship very high even in that Period. For the immediate fecond Generation of our Kind is faid in this Account to have been guilty in a Time of Drought of direct Idolatry to the Sun \*. And our learned Voucher for the Phanician's Authority in the point, supposes Cain to have been so effectually confirm'd in this idolatrous Disposition, before the time HE verification (faid I) I Apprehe pious and deeper I ly thro' dices; and of his I strong and Hazard Stain the upon his have no the war

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<sup>\*</sup> This is reported of Genus, the Son of Protogonus, in Sanchoniatho, whom the Bishop makes to be Cain, the Son of Adam.

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of that first Instance of external Devotion in the World, which our sacred History has recorded, the Sacrifice of the two original Brothers; that the secret Apostasy of his Heart from the orthodox Belief of his Family, was the true Ground of that signified Disapprobation of his Offering, which in the Event proved so fatal to his Fellow-worshipper. He was, it seems, an Insidel of the true modish modern Stamp; who in his Heart laughed at those weak Superstitions, which in his Practice he thought it prudent to comply with. Is not this, think you, a very extraordinary Piece of Resinement for that Age of primitive Simplicity?

He was a Genius of the higher Order, (faid I) I suppose; and of a much forwarder Apprehension of Things, than his more pious and orthodox Relative; and by a deeper Penetration of Thought, faw quickly thro' the Weakness of his nursery Preju-. dices; and the Fallacy of the popular System of his Time. I wonder, confidering how frong an Instance he might be made of the Hazard of Free-thinking; and the dark Stain that is fixed by the facred Historian upon his subsequent moral Character; we have not feen him produced in this View by the warmer Advocates for System in the World, to the Terror and Reproach of his Followers

Followers in later Ages; who to the unpardonable scandal and disquiet of these good Men, have presumed to dissent from certain prescribed Opinions of the easiest Digestion, and most unquestionable Evidence, under the shameless Pretence of thinking for themselves.

WHEN false Religion (resumed Hortenfius) had thus early got footing in the World, it foon, you will imagine, found Means to inlarge its malignant Empire; for the great Luminary of Heaven, the Sun, being once exalted into the Character of supreme Lord of it, by this second Generation of Mankind; there succeeded only two more compleat ones, before a new Species of Idolatry was introduced, the Worship of Fire, and a Wind, or Tempest, that had occasioned the accidental breaking out of it. The Celebration of which, we are told, was performed by fetting up Pillars, or rather rude unwrought Stones, to the honor of the novel Deities; and paying a religious Homage, accompanied with sanguinary Libations, at these their Altars \*. This happened in the fifth Age of the World; and in the next we read, that the Survivers of these Elementary-Hierophants complimented them after their decease, with some of the Honors of

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<sup>\*</sup> Cumb. Sanch. p. 236.

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of their own devising; consecrating to them Posts and Pillars, after the example of those they had themselves erected to the two namral Deities; and celebrating anniversary. Festivals to their Memory \*. And now the dol-Interest was considerably advancing :. For Chrysor, or Vulcan, who lived, in this Account, in the next Age but one, having invented Iron, and the use of the Forge, with ome other Accommodations of Life, was, fer his death, admitted by the Men of the mmediate succeeding Generation to the Hoors of a more explicite Religion, and direct Apotheofis +. A Degree of Guilt, fays our bove-cited Commentator on the Fragment. which even this wicked Brood, of Cainite Extraction, " fell not into till the eighth Generation; till more than a thousand Years had harden'd them; and divine Vengeance in the Deluge was drawing near in the next Generation but one." A Judgment against the first Deisiers of Men, which he thinks worthy to be remark'd t. important an Instance of the Corruption f the Antediluvian World has our inspired History of this Period altogether passed over in

Τουίων δε τελευσανίων, τους απολειφθενίας, φησι, εδους αυίοις αφιερωσαι, κή τας επλας ωροσκυνειν, κή νόις έορίας αίειν καί έίος. Ubi fup.

† Ως θεον αυίον έσε βασθησαν. Ubi fup.

† Cumb. Sanch. p. 245.

in filence; and left to be ascertained to us by a Phænician Supplement; of an Age, doubtful indeed, but past controversy, much inserior to its own \*: of which moreover the original Authorities are more to be suspected than the Age; and the genuine Conveyance, thro' the Hands of a right-reverend Father, from those of a very late Pagan Translator; more justly questionable still than either.

ONE need not (interposed I) go any farther, I think, for a full Justification of the divine Nemesis in the Destruction of the primitive World by the Flood, supposing the Fact to have been as it is usually apprehended; than to that incorrigible Depravity, and infamous Corruption of Manners in those early Days; which the sacred Historian points out to us, as its immediate Provocation. Violence ‡, Iniquity, profligate and unparallel'd

\* Auctor Vetustissimus, says the learned Marsham, of Sanchoniatho, sed Tyri conditu, Trojanisque Temporibus longe Inserior. Can. Chron. p. 234. Bochart gives this Character of him—Nomen, aut Cognomen, inde sortitus, ex quo animam ad scribendum appulit, hoc ipso significabat se veritatis esse assection, et exquisitioris doctrinæ curiosum indagatorem; quod utinam tam re præstitisset, quam nomine prositebatur. Canaan, lib. 2. cap. 17.

+ Philo Biblius, in the time of Adrian.

the days of Enos his Son, in distinction from the Cainites, they called themselves by the name of the

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rallel'd Debauch, the reigning Characteristics, as it appears, of the more advanced Antediluvian Age; if they had not drawn down the Severity of a *supernaturally* interposing Vengeance, to the extinction of the abandoned Race; must in the natural Tendency of the Things themselves have soon accomplished the universal Misery of it. A Deluge might, for aught I know, be a very desirable Rescue

Sons of God, Gen. 4, 26. So Aquila's Version renders the Place. Tols nextn rou nakes er ovoquals Kupiou. And the marginal reading in our Bibles is greeable hereto. This Passage, however, has been fometimes quoted in proof, that the very worst fort of Idolatry, the human Apotheofis, began as early as the days of Enos. But this Notion is entirely built upon a wrong Sense of the Words in the original. The motive to the Distinction here assumed in Seth's line was not, so far as appears, the Idolatry of the Cainites, but their ill Lives. Cain himself was of a violent and refentful Disposition, and his Family seem, many of them, to have been of a like Temper and Complexion. For we read, there were Giants, or, Ble Clerc understands the Hebrew Word, Nephelim, Robbers, or Men of Violence, in the Earth in those days. Such as afterwards by the mixture of Seth's family with Cain's, the whole Earth, except Noah's family, was become, Gen. 6. 11. This, with the evere Law against Murder to Noah after the Flood, makes it probable, that Violence was the reigning Vice of the Antediluvian World. And whereas in the permission of Animal Food, care is taken to forhid the eating of Blood; Gen. 9. 3, 4, 5. possibly, the υμοφαίια, or feeding upon raw Flesh with the Blood nit, might have been practifed before the Flood; and helped to sharpen the Spirits of Men in earlier Days.

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from the more dreadful Overflowings of such increasing Wickedness. It might be even a kind Interpolition in such Circumstances. to dispeople a World of Beings so resolute in their own undoing; and by a decifive Stroke of instant Ruin to prevent the lengthen'd Pains of a more gradual Execution. But so it should seem (Hortensius) in our Author's account, that these Enormities in Antediluvian Practice were not fully ripe for Punishment, without the finishing Aggravation of a confirmed speculative Mis-belief. Nor is it indeed any new Doctrine in Syflematic Theology, " That Errors in point of " Opinion, are of a more heighten'd Guilt, " than any Failures in Conduct." The condemning Quality is by many of our Divines so emphatically ascribed to an erroneous Faith, that one would think there were m Condemnation to a corrupt Morality. truly, if the final Distributions of Heaven were at all to be estimated from the temporar ones of some who boast themselves its commission'd Embassadors, a Man would run far less risque of his Salvation, who should break even the plainest of the Command ments; than scruple the most intricate Ni cety of an authoritatively imposed Creed merely because he had not an Understanding to make either Scripture or Sense of it.

ONE ceeded H fignal an first Deif effectual fiderable i At least, who we Fact, and on their neral Ru convinced the prece fetting the Event ho different. preserved Seed of a likewise t Cronus, c geny of him in th after a S his Fami complete had scarc of his F

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ONE would have hoped, however (proceeded Hortenfius) that the memory of fo fignal an Interpolition of Heaven against the first Deifiers of Men, should have given an effectual Check to the Practice for some confiderable Time in the succeeding World. At least, that the chosen Family of Noab, who were themselves Eye-witnesses to the Fact, and owed it to an especial Providence on their behalf, that they survived the general Ruin; should have been too sensibly convinced of the fatal Consequences of it in the preceding Generations, to have ventured fetting the example of it to After-Times. The Event however was, as we are told, quite different. For they were no fooner almost preserved from the common Fate, to be the Seed of a renewed World, but they became likewise the Seed of a renewed Idolatry. For Cronus, or Ham, one of the immediate Progeny of Noah, who had been partaker with him in the affecting Providence of the Ark, after a Series of many other Violences to his Family, having at length arrived to the complete Infamy of most unnatural Parricide, had scarce accomplished the savage Purpose of his Father's Murder, but he proceeded to the impious Ceremony of his Apotheofis. He deify'd him, we are told, upon the very Spot

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Spot where he had dispatched him . And to establish the credit of that Divinity he had raised him to, as well as to provide for his own personal Advancement to the same Honors after death, he contrived to charge him with a Pestilence that soon after raged in his Kingdom; and to appease this pretended punishing Dæmon +, the Author of the then instant Calamity, poured out the Blood of his only Son in Sacrifice to the Manes of his murdered Parent ‡: To such an height of savage Impiety was this immediate

\* Ουρανον του παίερα λαδων (Κρονος) επιχειριου εκ τεμυει αυίου τα αιδοια συνεγίυς πηίων τε και ποίαμων ενθα αφιερωθη Ουρανος, και απηρίσθη αυίου το πρευμα. Euleb. præp. p. 38. ενθα αφιερωθη, fays Bishop Cumberland, "He was confectated forthwith, "upon that very spot of ground. Cronus was of his mind, who said, sit Divus, modo ne sit vivus." He knew it would be honourable to himself to be believ'd the Son of a Deity; and that it might make way to his own Confectation when he should die. And when he had thus deisted him, nothing could fix his confectation more, than that his Son, now a great Prince, should facrifice to him. Cumb. Sanch. p. 146.

+ Τιμωρος Δαιμων, fo Oupavos is here considered

by Porphyry in Eufeb. Book I. p. 40.

† Λοιμου δε γενομένου και φθορας, τον έαυθου νίοι μονοδενη Κρονος Ουράνω παίρι ολοκαρποι. Euseb. præp. lib. 1. p. 38. So confirmed an Idolater indeed was Cronus, in our Author's Account, that the end of his Deification of Ουράνος, or Noah, was, we are told, to make Posterity believe Noah approved of Dæmon-Worship himself; and by that means blot out the remembrance of his Piety. Cumb. Sanch. p. 147.

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ns blot Sanch. diate Spectator of a so late delug'd World, for Crimes of the very fame complexion with his own, already arrived! But, it feems, however he had escaped the penalty of Antediluvian Corruption, he had been a confiderable Sharer in the guilt of it. For he not only himself gave into many superstitious, magical, and astrologic Practices before the Flood; but plotted the successful propagation of them after it. " He was unwilling, " we are told by some Writers, that Poste-"rity should lose the Benefit of Antediluvian Ingenuity, in these kinds; and ac-" cordingly as the Deluge approached, hav-"ing formed a System of what Knowledge "himself was master of this way, "inscribed it on Plates of different Metals, " and the hardest Stones he could meet with for the purpose. And knowing there "would be no admission for Doctrines of "this fort into the Ark, he reposited these " valuable Institutes in the safest Places he "could think of out of it; and when the "Flood was over, went in search of them " with the diligence so important a Disco-"very required; till having fortunately got "them again into his possession, he from "henceforward professed a Mastership in " his Art; and distinguished himself as the; great Magician and Astrologer of the rising "Generation of Mankind \*." An Author, Philemon, who could thus furvive the Ruins of an universal Deluge, might well be exempted from those leffer Injuries of Time, and vulgar Accidents, which have been so fatal to many Writers of a much inferior date. Nor are we, I think, to wonder, if after so signal an escape of this first Sketch of his Antediluvian Magics, succeeding improved Editions of the same Work should be extant as late as the learned Bochart's Age; who tells us of an impious Treatise of the Elements and Praxis of Necromancy, then in being, under the Title of, The Scripture of Cham the Son of Noah +.

THIS

\* Quantum itaque antiquæ traditiones ferunt Cham filius Noe, qui superstitionibus illis et sacrilegis artibus Infectus fuit, sciens nullum se posse super his librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in quam erat una cum patre justo, ac fanctis fratribus ingressurus; scelestas artes, ac profana commenta diversorum metallorum laminis, quæ scilicet non corrumperentur injuria, et duriffimis lapidibus insculpsit. - Quæ, diluvio peracto, eâdem quâ illa celaverat curiofitate perquirens, facrilegiorum, et perpetuæ nequitiæ feminarium transmisit in posteros. Cassian. Coll. 8. cap. 21. Kirch. Ob. Pam. lib. I. p. 4. Dico igitur fieri non potuisse, says the last mentioned Author elsewhere, ut Cham peritissimus Astrologiæ, ac universæ naturæ consultus, ad instantiam suorum siliorum Chus, et Mifraim, non aliqua scripserit. Cum, ut per regulas et præcepta in magica arte operandi labili filiorum memorize consuleret; tum, ut ad fui nominis famam, &c. Ob. Pam. cap. 2- p. 18. compare Oed. Æg. p. 84. also 245.

† Invaluit opinio Chamum fuisse Magum, et car-

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This was probably a Copy only of the Work (laid 1) Hortenfius. I wonder what is become of the true original Manuscript? Happy the Virtuolo Antiquary, if any such there be, who has the Possession of so choice a piece of antique Literature! how effectually would it shame some valued Treasures of Antiquarian Curiosity, mere Novelties in comparison!

You are not, I think (returned Hortenhus) over fond of Domestic-History, Phihmon, or I could let you into the true Secret of this Cronus's very early and singular
Apostasy from the Religion of his Parents
and Brethren. It was all owing to an unfortunate Alliance he had made by Marriage
with a Branch of the Cainite Family. His
Wife was of idolatrous extraction; being
Naamab, the Daughter of Lamech, Sister to
Subal-Cain. The same Person, whom Plutarch in his Egyptian Antiquities calls Nemaus, Queen of Byblus, in Phænicia \*;

mine magico patrem, dum dormiebat nudus, ita devotasse, et obligasse, ut deinceps ad mulierem non potuerit affectari; et magicos Libros scripsisse, nam bodieque extat impium opus, continens elementa et praxim artis necromanticæ, sub titulo, scripturæ Chami, Filii Noæ. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 1.

\* If the was one of Ham's Wives, we may give a very probable reason for his falling into Idolatry, tho his Father was so free from it. Cumb. Remarks on Sanch. p. 107-8.

who being the only Female mentioned by Moses, in his Genealogy of Cain's Line must be conceived, it is conjectured, to be a Person of very distinguished Consequence + Tho' methinks, her memory is not much beholden to the Civility of those Writers, who, from this passing notice of it, traduce her as the inticer of her Husband into the basest

It has occasioned much Speculation amongst Commentators, what should be the reason of Moser's making ten Generations from Adam to the Flood, in Seth's Line, and feven only in Cain's. Saint Avfin's Observations on this Question are very curious, and may ferve to raife our Idea of Fatherly Interpretation of Scripture-Illud mihi nullo pacto prætereundum filentio videtur, quod cum Lamech septimus ab Adam fuisset inventus, tot ejus annumerati sunt fili, donec undenarius numerus impleretur, quod fignificatur Peccatum. Quoniam Lex denario numero pradicatur, profecto numerus undenarius, quum transgreditur denarium, transgressionem legis significat. Progenies ergo ex Adam per Cain sceleratum numero undenario finitur, quo peccatum fignificatur. Et ipse numerus a Fæmina clauditur; a quo sexu initium factum est peccati, per quod omnes morimur. Commissum est autem, ut et voluptas carnis, quæ spiritui resisteret, sequeretur. Nam et ipsa filia Lamech, Noema, id est, Voluptas, interpretatur. Per Seth autem ab Adam ad Noe denarius infinuatur legitimus numerus. Cui Noe tres adjiciuntur filii : unde, uno lapso, duo benedicuntur a patre; ut remoto reprobo, et probatis filiis ad numerum additis, etiam duodenarius numerus intimetur; qui et in Patriarcharum, et Apostolorum numero insignis est, propter septenarii partes, alteram per alteram multiplicatas. Nam ter quaterni, vel quater terni, ipfum faciunt. De Civ. Dei Lib. 15. cap. 21. ap. fin.

+ See Cumb. as above.

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basest Idolatries; nor to others of a like conjectural Stamp, who gather from the fame Circumstance, that she was herself the original Subject of an Apotheofis the most infamous in all Paganism, the Apotheosis of lustful Beauty \*. But whatever was the ground of Ham's religious Misbehaviour before the Flood, the Rabbinic Authors are no very reputable Expositors of Scripture, if he was not under a fatal Devotion to Offences of this fort after it. For fuch, it feems, is in their opinion the import of that Denunciation which his indecent Levity extorted from his affronted Parent, upon an occasion well known, against himself and his Progeny; " That they should not only be in " Slavery to their collateral Kindred; but to " a Dominion of a more debasing and op-" probrious kind, the Tyranny of the most " execrable Superstition +."

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\* Noema, Filia Lamechi, Mosi memorata præter morem Scripturæ, quæ non solet in genealogiis referre sæminas. Alii, quia Noema venustum notat, eo arbitrantur esse Venerem Gentium. Tantam enim venustatem suisse unius Naama prædicant, ut duo Angeli Dei, Aza, et Azael, ejus sorma capti, concubuerint; et ex ea Dæmones genuerint, qui Sedim appellantur. Alii Adamum ipsum, illis centum et triginta annis quibus ab Evâ suit separatus, suisse cum Naama. Voss. de Orig. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 17.

† Gen. 25. Et vidit Cham pater Chanaan verenda patris sui; Gen. 9. 22. To which Rabbi Rassi adds, it was believed, quod castraverit ipsum, et concubueI HOPE (said I) our venerable Ancestor spoke here by a prophetic Spirit, declaring what in the natural course of things would come to pass in this Branch of his Posterity; and not intimating any disposition of his own what should. Otherwise his Anathema seems much too severe for the provocation that drew it from him; nor could he, I think, have well recovered his Temperance, when he uttered so merciless an Imprecation.

For the credit of his sobriety, Philemon, (replied he) I dare say the good Man, neither in Prophecy, nor Resentment, had any Thought of what he is here charged with The Denunciation had quite another Aspect, and was accomplished after a very different manner \*. Nor was indeed the spiritual Slavery here understood at all peculiar to Canaan's Posterity; having, as it should seem, equally prevailed within the Line of Shem, when

rit cum eo—Cusii, says Abenezra on the Place, cultores suere Idolorum, eo quod Noe Chamo maledixit—We must judge, says Bishop Cumberland, that even this worst part of Idolatry (human Sacrifice) was received and continued by Ham in Canaan, and Egypt, and the rest of his Dominions. Cumb. Sanch. p. 147—8.

\* Noe Chamum execratus prædixerat fore, et ejus posteri servi essent servorum. Atque id impletum in Chananæis tum, cum subire coacti sunt Israelitarum jugum. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. p. 3. from the records of in the Andrew in the Andrew in the introduction in the taught He introductio

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when a particular Family of that Line was distinguished by a special Privilege in the Case; and separated from its idolatrous Kindred by an immediate interpolition of Hearen for that purpose, And thus, Philemon, by running over with you feveral imaginary Establishments of Idolatry in the World I have, I am afraid, infenfibly brought down your Thoughts to the times of a real one. The particular Seat of it, I have in view. is the Chaldean, or ancient Affyrian Empire. From a City of which, Ur of the Chaldees, Terab, the Father of the Patriarch Abrabam, some time before his Death, which happened in the feventy-fifth Year of Abrabam's Age, removed with his Family to Haran in Mesopotamia; upon a dissension from the Urite Establishment in Religion \*. What this was, may be probably conjectured from the Alexandrian Chronicle; which records of Ninus the Successor of Nimrod in the Assyrian Empire, and who reigned 'till the ninth Year of Abrahams's Life, that he taught the Assyrians to worship Fire +. He introduced, I would understand the Chronicle, the Worship of artificial Fire, as a Symbol of the Fires, or Lights of Heaven; which if the Origin of Chaldean Idolatry may be judged of from that of all other Nations, were, doubtless, as the nature of

<sup>\*</sup>Compare Gen. 11. 31, 32. 12. 4. with Judith 5.7, 8. † Chron. Alex. p. 64.

the thing feems to point out, the first Ob jects of a mistaken Worship in the World. Ninus, we may imagine, thought to provide a remedy against the frequent absences. and disappearings of the heavenly Bodies by appointing a medium of Adoration to them, which might be always at hand, and ready to receive the honours of those primary Divinities. Or, possibly, some farther Innovation here in Abraham's Time might occasion the Rupture between his Family and their Fellow-Citizens. For it does not appear that Terab, or Abraham, were at this time adherers to the true Worship, tho' they are mentioned as Separatifts from a particular mode of false \*. Whatever was the ground of their Diffension from the Unite Religion, the Jewish Authors inform us the quarrel in Abraham's Case ran so high, that he had inevitably fallen a Martyr to his particular Scruple,

Scruple, but terposed in it seems, wo of Conform Religion, scipline we them; and of our Pain it, had his deliver he should Element, ledge the

THE pretence fure the a diffusion bounds, these Charten Discontinuous control of the Discontinuous cont

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Locke in his Comment on Rom. 4. 5.—

τω δε μη εργαζομενω, πις ενουτι δε επι του δικαιουντα

του ασεδη, λογιζεται η πις ις εις δικαιοσυνην—observes,

that by these Words Saint Paul plainly points out Abrabam, who was, ασεδης, ungodly, that is, a Gentile, not

a Worshipper of the true God, when God called him,
which he explains by the Word ασεδειαι, being used
by the Apostle to express the State of the Gentile

World as to their Atheism, Polytheism, and Idola
try, at the Revelation of the Gospel.—

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δεται γαρ οργη Θεου απ' ουραυου εωι ωασαν ασεδείαν

ανθρωπων—Rom. 1. 18. See his Com. on the Places.

As also, more at large on Rom. 5. v. 6. and 8.

<sup>(1)</sup> The XM Chafdim, autem Hel quod Abra noluerit, tus, de Id bus scribit regione Cobetur, de nem nole Tradit. in

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Scruple, but that an especial Providence interposed in his Rescue. For the Chaldeans, it seems, were so resolute in their demands of Conformity to their authorized national Religion, that Fire Worship, or Fire-Discipline were the settled Alternatives with them; and the latter having been the Lot of our Patriarch, he had certainly perished in it, had not a Miracle been wrought for his deliverance. It was thought necessary he should at least seel the Vengeance of that Element, of which he would not acknowledge the Divinity.

THE Element (I interposed) had some pretence for afferting its own Apotheosis. But sure the zeal of later Ages for establishments of a different Genius greatly exceeds its bounds, when it catches the red-bot Spirit of these Chaldean Inquisitors; and proceeds to the Discipline of Fire, without the previous Ceremony of its Deisication.

WHAT-

Pro eo quod legimus, in regione Chaldworum, (n τη χωρα των Χαλδαιων) in Hebræo habetur, Ur Chaldim, id est, in igne Chaldworum. Tradunt autem Hebræi ex hâc occasione, istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldwi colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus, de Idololatriæ igne prosugerit. Quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse Tharan cum sobole sua de regione Chaldworum: pro eo, quod in Hebræo habetur, de incendio Chaldworum: quod videlicet, ignem nolens adorare, igne consumtus sit. Vid. Hieron. Tradit. in Gen. 11. 28, 31.

copie, but that an especial Frondence in-WHATEVER was the particularity ( fomed Hortenfini) of the Patriarch's Rell gion at his departure from the City of his Nativity; a farther reform was, we find thought necessary to be made in it, at some distance of Time from that period; when by a special Designation from Heaven for that Purpose, he was to enter upon the illustrious Character vouchsafed to him in Haran of Mejopotamia; of being from thenceforward not only the Head or Father of a great and chosen Nation; that of the Yews, the immediate Descendants of Abrabam after the Flesh, ; but of a more honourable, however figurative Progeny; of the Faithful to the end of the World . About two Years after this very important Inflitttion, we find him driven by diffres of i Famine in Canaan, the Country of his appointed Refidence under it during that Interval, into Egypt +. The Scripture which records to us his having fojourned there upon this occasion, about the space, as is

† Gen. 12. 10.

onjectured, nention of he People gion. ong fince iturgy, w ut that he o the Egy eived, ha he Pharao efuge, as my other it of Egy ed than t for nation: rept in la operate. of a very Egyptians fpeaking | degree, co Worship; could neit blishment pearance

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<sup>\*</sup> The Law, according to St. Paul, Gal. 3. 17. was 430 Years after the Abrahamic Covenant. The Law was given A. M. 2513. counting back 430 Years from hence, we come to 2083, the 75th Year of Abraham's Life; or the Year of his departure from Haran; at which time, according to Rom. 4. v. 5. as above, he was justified by Faith, being acelas, ungodly, or an idolatrous Gentile. Compare Gal. 3. 8. with Gal. 12. 2, 3.

<sup>\*</sup> See M + Gen. 1

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onjectured, of three Months \*, makes no nention of his having differed at all from he People of the Land in the matter of Region. However scrupulous he had not ong fince been as to the Urite Ritual and iturgy, we have no Intimation given us. ut that he was now an intire Conformift o the Egyptian. Nor would he, 'tis coneived, have been so well intreated + of he Pharaoh in whose Dominions he took efuge, as we are informed he was, upoh my other Terms. Unless indeed the Spiit of Egyptian Idolatry was far less bigoted than that of Chaldean; and that Zeal for national Ceremonies, so powerful in Eypt in later Ages, had not as yet begun to operate. An Argument this, in the opinion of a very confiderable Writer t, that the Egyptians were not at the time we are here speaking of materially, if indeed in any degree, corrupted in their publick Faith and Worship; fince otherwise our Patriarch could neither have conformed to their Establishments with innocence, nor yet in all appearance have diffented from them; confiftently with the only motive of his Journey; the obtaining for himself and Household that commodious Subfistence in a fo-

<sup>\*</sup> See Martham's Can. Chron. p. 72.

<sup>†</sup> Gen. 12. 16.

t Mr. Shuckford, Vol. I. of Con. Book V. p. 319.

reign Land, which the inclemency of the Season would not afford him in his own. Our Author concludes therefore, that the Egyptians were as yet adherents to the traditional Religion of Noah; and Worship pers in common with their patriarchal so journer, of the one true God \*.

THE Scripture (interrupted I) Horten fius, is altogether filent in this matter. It neither determines one way, nor the other, From whence, confidering the Genius of the Mosaic History upon many parallel Occasions, little, I should imagine, can be concluded with certainty for either Side of the question. There is one Circumstance of the Relation to be confidered, that feems if any thing, rather to make against this Gentleman's Conclusion; fince it may possibly help us to account for the Patriarch's hospitable Reception at the Egyptian Court, even allowing him to have been ever fo fempulous a Separatist from the established Church. He had with him, we are informed, a fair Companion of his Travels, whose Beauty soon drew upon her the Regards of the intriguing Princes, or great Officers, of Pharaob's Houshold; and, upon a report of it from them to their Master, procured the admired Stranger an Admission into his Palace, and an intire accommodation at the roya the must h Address, if and Family a separate the liberty did the Pa least distru Apologist f to have t nearness of Discovery subject him a voluptuo the fame Life; whe racter of one of a Vertue am risque his Licence of quainted b was well of his fe might not Worship b ment ? A

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<sup>·</sup> See as above.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 12

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at the royal Expence \*. In such a situation the must have been Mistress of very little Address, if she could not obtain for herself and Family the privilege of a Toleration in a separate Worship and Communion; and the liberty of a private Conscience. Nor did the Patriarch, so far as appears, in the least distrust the Success of so powerful an Apologist for his Religion; all his Care seems to have turn'd upon concealing the real nearness of her Relation to his Person. A Discovery of which, he conceived, might subject him to the hazards of Violence from a voluptuous People; and deprive him at the same time both of his Consort and his Life; whereas under the diffembled Character of a Sifter, instead of the genuine one of a Wife, he could fecurely trust her Vertue amidst the Intrigues of a Court, nor nique his own personal Safety amidst the Licence of it +. When therefore we are acquainted by the facred Historian, that he was well entreated of Pharaob for the sake of his female counterfeited Correlative 1. might not a Toleration of him in a foreign Worship be one instance of this kind Intreatment? And how then will it follow from Abraham's being at this Time a Servant of the true God, that the native Egyptians had H 2 not

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. 12. 14, 15, 16.

<sup>†</sup> Gen. 12. v. 11, 12, 13.

<sup>†</sup> Gen. 12. 16.

not before his days apostatized to the Service of false ones?

of home that the bone on the his higher THOUGH I have all imaginable regard (re turned Hortenfius) to the Opinion of the very knowing Writer, whose Sentiments in this Matter I have been reporting to you; I do not indeed see but the Supposition of a Toleration is full as allowable in the Cafe of Abraham, as in that of Joseph, a little more than two Centuries later in the Egyptian History \*, it appears unavoidable. For we have the Authority of the facred Text itself for thinking Joseph, even in the height of his Egyptian Advancement; at a time when he not only flood before Pharaob, but had enter'd into an Alliance by Marriage with a Family of the national Priesthood +; to have yet been all the while of a different Religion from that of the Establishment, For in the account given us of his entertaining his Stranger-Brethren, fent by their Father to buy Corn in Egypt, in a general Failure of it in their own Land 1; we are informed, the native Egyptians, who were of the Invitation, might not eat Bread with the Hebrews; but were accommodated under a They was a series to the feparate separate C of their early day Table, w mon Alta is fo far have been gion at t amongst himself t of their about by of Memp ment from who can before th fourscore The Rep cular Re Intercoun it is fu Egyptian ty to in under th ample. tion of to be h

died in 21

<sup>\*</sup> Abraham sojourned in Egypt A. M. 2086. Joseph was sold into Egypt at 17 Years of Age, Gen. 37. 2, 28. A. M. 2276. in 13 Years after which, or at 30 Years of Age, He flood before Pharaoh, Gen. 41. 46. A. M. 2289.

<sup>+</sup> Gen. 41. v. 45, 46.

<sup>‡</sup> Gen. 43. 1, 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. † Abra began his 88 Years

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feparate Occonomy ; the scrupulous Genius of their national Religion, even in these early days, admitting none to a common Table, who were not Partakers of a common Altar \*. Our Author notwithstanding is fo far from thinking the Egyptians to have been actually corrupted in their Religion at the time of Abraham's fojourning amongst them, that he makes the Patriarch himself to have been innocently the occasion of their first becoming to not long afterwards. This, in his account, was brought about by the artifice of Suphis, a Prince of Memphis; the tenth in that Government from Menes, or Mifraim, its Founder; who came to the Crown about nine Years before the death of Abraham; and above fourscore after his departure from Egypt +. The Reputation of our Patriarch for particular Revelations, and a more diftinguished Intercourse with Heaven, was at this time, it is supposed, exceeding high with the Egyptians. And gave Suphis an opportunity to innovate in the Sacra of his Country under the Patronage of fo reverenced an Example. He pretended therefore, in affectation of the patriarchal Fame and Character, to be himself a Georges; favoured with a

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. 43. 32.

<sup>†</sup> Abraham sojourned in Egypt A. M. 2086. Suphis began his Reign A. M. 2174. or An. Æræ Theb. 293. 88 Years after Abraham's being in Egypt. Abraham died in 2183, the ninth Year of Suphis at Memphis.

of Divinity. Upon the credit of which he foon contrived to overturn the hitherto traditional Belief and Worship of his Subjects, propagating in its stead a System of his own private Institutions; and infinuating himself by this means into the future supreme Direction of the publick Faith and Conscience.

THE Pretence (said I) Hortensius, was doubtless a very good one for the Purposes of an intriguing Politician. But methinks I would not readily charge the Abrahamic Dispensation with the Odium of giving the first hint to so mischievous an Artissee of Priestcrast. Besides that had the Circumstances of Abraham's Life and Character at this time been so well known in Egypt, as this account seems to suppose, he must really have been a Politician of no ordinary Genius, who could wrest such an Example to the Purposes of a national Idolatry.

THE Egyptians (replied Hortensus) might possibly have heard of the general Fame of Abraham's Revelations, and yet not have been apprized of the particular Subject and Contents of them. A report thus popularly current, without being accurately examined, might lead Suphis into the conceit of this Fallacy, at the same time that it

would not Intention, the best T avoidable in Liberty. A themselves, tended, and plications 1 rested, the fairly with are scrupul a Party in well enoug blame, wh the enterpr bite. His fibly be no tence of a profounder The Substa an Author of Egypt, Symbolical this Count grounds up the Kings

<sup>\*</sup> See Shuckford's Con. Vol. I. Book V. p. 319, and foll.

Egypto Relitadita communismo manife to ipso tem Chron. p. 54

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would not at all interfere either with the Intention, or the Success of it. Abuses of the best Things are, you know, often unavoidable in the natural course of human Liberty. Appointments the most useful in themselves, and the most beneficially intended, are yet open to the groffest Misapplications by the perverse, the falfely-interested, the disingenuous. However, to deal fairly with you, Philemon, fince I find you are scrupulous of making the Patriarch at all Party in this Affair; I see not but we may well enough discharge him; and fix the blame, where perhaps it is only due, upon the enterprizing Spirit of the designing Memthite. His Geordia, in this view, might posfibly be nothing more than the boafted Pretence of a more improved Speculation, and profounder Theory, in Subjects of Religion. The Substance of which, in the Opinion of an Author of first regard in the Antiquities of Egypt, was the projecting the famed Symbolical Theology, and Emblem-Worship of this Country \*. An Hypothesis, which he grounds upon a Passage in the Chronology of the Kings of This, answering to about the twentieth

Sane ex hâc Regis (Suphidis) Θεοπίια nova in Egypto Religionum ludibria excogitata funt; et facris tradita commentariis. Nam ex Thinitarum Synchromimo manifestum est, Bouum, Hircique αποθεωσιν to ipso tempore initium habuisse. Marsham Can. Chron. p. 54.

twendeth Year of Suphis at Memphis That in the Reign of Centhes, the tent "Thinite King, the Apis at Memphis, March were received into the number of the " Egyptian Gods "." A discernment is this Symbol-Science was ever, we know effectived by the Egyptians a very high in france of facred Wildom +. And the will covery, or first institution of it, if generally afcribed to Suphis, would naturally inches him to that honourable Diftinction paid to his Memory in the Memphite Records, "That he was a Prince eminent for a more " particular Infight into the Natures of "Gods I." He left behind him, we are fall ther informed, a facred Book, or Treather divine Subjects; the Elements, we may how pose, of this emblematic Doctrine, and Ania mal-Apotheofis ||. Which, if it owed its birth to the Speculations of this Memphite Prince, might, before the Age of Joseph's Advancement in a neighbour Kingdom, near a Century be-

Sub hoc, Apis in Memphi, Mnevis in Heliopolis et Mendefius Caper Dii funt habiti. Marfb. Tabl elver chasit esvols u artic. Ceach.

+ Ωσπερ εκ Φρουησεως και της αγαν θεοσοφιας τη το σεβας ελθειν και των ζωων Κανθαρου δε αμαθή: Βεδελυχθειη αν, αγνωμων υπαρχων των θειων Αιγυπτιοι δε εσεφθησαν, ως ειχονα ήλιου εμψυχον. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 4. Sect. 9.

† Ουλος ωεριοπλης εις θεους εγενελο. Syncell. Chron.

| Ίεραν συνείραψε βιέλον. Ibid.

low the have been upon in E ligious Di his Egypti in his E Nor will Refinemen all unsuita when it is down to u the repute Pyramid . Uses it mi tention, t the Hierog Pyramid are affured pression, e Properties

died A. M. vancementreign A. M. An. Ær. TI as above, Reign; fo t before Foseph + Hic (St Can. Chron.

† Tuear lateres man. The Egyptic

low the Times we are here speaking of, have been sufficiently spread, and improved upon in Egypt, to account fully for that religious Distinction in the accommodation of his Egyptian and Hebrew Guests, observed in his Entertainment above-mentioned \*. Nor will the Province here affigned to the Refinements of Suphis appear, I think, at all unsuitable to his Genius and Character, when it is remembered, that he is delivered down to us in the Chronology of Egypt, as the reputed Founder of the celebrated great Pyramid +. An Edifice, whatever other Uses it might be applied to, in its first Intention, there is great Reason to think, of the Hieroglyphic kind. The Figure of the Pyramid and Obelifk in general being, we are affured, in the Egyptian manner of Expression, emblematical of the Nature and Properties of Fire ‡; as was, I conceive, this par-

+ Hic (Suphis) maximam erexit Pyramidem. Marsh.

Can. Chron. p. 47.

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Joseph stood before Pharaoh A. M. 2289—Suphis died A. M. 2237, or 52 Years before Joseph's Advancement—Suphis reigned 63 Years; beginning to reign A. M. 2174, or according to Marsham's Table, An. Er. Theb. 293—The Worship of the Apis, &c. as above, stands recorded pretty early in Suphis's Reign; so that it came in, probably, near a Century before Joseph's standing before Pharaoh.

<sup>†</sup> Πυραμιδας δε και οδελισκους τη ωυρος ουσια (στινειμαν. Porph. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 60. The Egyptian Obelisk at Alexandria had not a Square Base.

particular Structure, (what I have pleasure to find confirmed to me, by Judgement of a late very learned and in nious Traveller, who had examined it un the spot) both designed for the Represent tion, and dedicated to the Idolatry, of chief Fire of the System, the Sun

elented to dis sub of bone Base, like those we see at Rome; but an He Spherical one, that was received into a correspond Cavity in the Pedestal. It is certain, that these Pil by being thus rounded at the Bottom, would be nearer refemblance to Darts, and miffive Weapons, de if they were square. And consequently would be my expressive of the Rays of the Sun; which they w Supposed to represent; as it was the Sun itself to they were dedicated. Shaw's Travels, or Obian tions, &c. p. 411. Trabes ex eo fecere Reges quo certamine, Obeliscos vocantes; solis numini facta Radiorum ejus Argumentum in Effigie et Plin ! med suisers.

Nat. lib. 36. cap. 8.

\* As the Pyramids, which are Obelifks only acuter Angles, were equally emblematical of fo they may be confidered under the fame religi View, to have been no less consecrated to the Deity. Shaw's Travels, as above.——If Cheeps, phis, or whoever was the Founder of the great h mid, intended it only for his Sepulchre, what Oc fion was there for fuch a narrow crooked Entre into it? For the Well, as it is called, at the end the Entrance? For the lower Chamber, with large Nitch or Hole in the eaftern Wall of it i the long narrow Cavities in the Wall of the w Room? Or for the two Anti-Chambers of and lofty Gallery, with Benches on each Side, that troduce us into it? As the whole of the Egy Theology was cloathed in mysterious Emblems Figures, it feems reasonable to suppose, that all the Turnin

ot to am ith Conje uthors of more to the gen on of it. t with a d inquist e first Bo resented to syptians 1 fect, as f had their

ich they, we imings, Ap ere intende atacombs are e Rock) and if in the out hipped within ave paid to th ot a little fa is at last show ald have b dyta, that he eries. Shaw m apt to th consider the or ure and Con he infide of rovision that eception, as ill conclude, rone of the Objects at le bow's Travel

of their

of to amuse you any longer, Philemon, with Conjectures, either as to the Æra, or suthers of the Egyptian Idolatry; it will more to our Purpose to turn our Inquiry the general Theory, Genius, and Constitution of it. Nor can we, I believe, here set at with a better Guide, than the knowing and inquisitive Sicilian, Diodorus; who in the first Book of his general History has resessented to us the Sentiments of the earlier triptians upon the Matter of Religion, to field, as follows—" The first Men, who had their rise in Egypt, true born Sons of their Mother Earth, surveying the

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mings, Apartments, and Secrets in Architecture, ere intended for some nobler purpose; (for the eRock) and that the Deity rather, who was typiin the outward Form of this Pile, was to be worhipped within. The great Reverence and Regard thich Suphis, one of the reputed Founders, is faid to ave paid to the Gods, will, perhaps, in the first Place, a little favour such a Supposition. Yet even if is at last should not be granted, no Places certainly and have been more ingeniously contrived for the logia, that had so great a Share in the Egyptian Mytries. Shaw's Travels, p. 417, 418. And indeed I m apt to think, that there are few, who attentively unfider the outward Figure of these Piles; the Strucwe and Contrivance of the feveral Apartments in he infide of the greatest, together with the ample novinon that was made on each fide of it for the eception, as may be supposed, of the Priests; but conclude, that the Egyptians intended the latter one of the Places, as all of them were to be the Objects at least, of their Worship and Devotion. bow's Travels, p. 420.

State of the World about them, and ron ms templating, anot without a feetet And and Reverence, the Contents of the work Britterful Machine, concluded bfor the Din nity of the two most confiderable in commanding Appearances of it, who son and Moon. Thefe, they conceived were the great Principles of Life and B. ing; the dispensing, and softaining How. ers of the intire System \* 199 As Condifion fo natural to fuch early and unexperienced Reasoners as are here supposed that you have been driven, you known to the Hypothesis of a Miracle to prevent their making it. But whatever was the effect of original Revelation in first establishing a right Religion, subsequent Tradition was by no means sufficient to perpetuate and maintain it in the World. For before the times we are now arrived at in the course of this Speculation, Mankind had almost universally broke their guard; and, as if wholly loofe and uncaptioned in the point, were with very little ex. ception, running as greedily into the Infattnoth, relique nellarum crain alline exercitu conide

dionbof ! bright Ho Simplicity. rifing Wo their Eyes Egyptians, more eafi heavenly Climate, tion, they interrupte them, tha led morec part, 'tis ] Life. A Aftronom

bitantes, cyplationi coe cognitione Ed. Davies Lactantius otto ad hær Tellus fcartum reliquirantes, &co parm eau was was overesournes and during fournes and during fournes to The

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Τους δε ουν καί Αιγυπίου αυθρωπους το παλαιπ γενομευους, αυαθλεψανίας εις τον κοσμου, κατ της τω όλων Φυσιν καί απλαγενίας, και θαυμασανίας, υπιλαθείν ειναι δυο θεους αιδιούς τε και πρωίους, ποί πλιον, και την σεληνην – τουίους δε πους θεους ώφις απαι του συμπανία κοσμου διοικειν, τρεφονίας και αυξοτας πανία, και δια τουίων πανία γενανδών και τρεφισίαι. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 10, 11. Ed. Rhod.

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ction bof Sabitifut or the Widolatay of the bright Hoft of Heaven ; as if in the infant Simplicity, and ignorant Admiration of a rifing World, they were now first opening their Eyes upon the affecting Spectacle, The Boyptians, we may conceive, were the more easily seduced to the Worship of the Heavenly Bodies, as by the nature of their Climate, and circumstances of their Situation, they feemed to have enjoyed a more uninterrupted and advantageous Difplay of them, than their neighbour Nations \*. They led moreover in earlier times, for the most part, 'tis probable, a rural and much exposed Life. And, in the imperfection of their Aftronomy, having for many Centuries no. true measure of a solar Year +, were obliged eluate, and maintain it

Agyptii in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cum ex terra nihil emineret quod contemplationi cœli officere posset omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt. Cic. de Div. lib. 1. cap. 41. Ed. Davies—Nam, ut recte de his (Ægyptiis) Lactantius Firmianus, cum cœlo fruerentur sereno, otio ad hæc, et deliciis, quibus universa Ægyptiorum Tellus scatebat, torpescerent, decoram cœli faciem, cum reliquo stellarum ordinatissimo exercitu considerantes, &c. Kirch. Ob. Pamph. p. 157—Oide Θηδαιοι φαση εαυδους αρχαιοίαδους ειναι πανδων ανθρωπων και παρ' αυδους αρχαιοίαδους ειναι πανδων ανθρωπων και παρ' αυδους πρωδοις Φιλοσοφιαν τε ευρησθαι, και την επ' ακριδες ας ρολοδιαν, αμα και της χωρας αυδοις συνερίουσης προς το τηλαυδες ερον οραν τας επιδολας τε και δυσεις των ας ρων. Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 46.

The Egyptians ascribe the Correction of their Year to Mercury. Avalibrate de To Benn wasan

adjust the varying expediences of Husbandry,

This Mercury was undoubtedly Siphoas, thirty-fifth King of Egyptian Thebes; who, from parallel Co-cumstances in his History and Character to those of Tagutus, Theth, or Mercury the Son of Menes, of Mifraim, obtained this Name. Syncellus records the Addition of the five Days to have been made to the Egyptian Year by Affis, fixth Pastor King of Fame, or the lower Egypt. Oulos wporefines Two snearlan The weile enaloperas, xai ens aulou, is Passy exemplica τροακοσιων έξηκονία σενίε ημερων ο Αιγυπίιακος ενίανιες Τριακοσιων εξηκονία μουων ήμερων προ τουίου μελρουμενος Chron. p. 125. But this Affis being one of the Paffor Kings, who were, in Josephus's account from Manthe, arteumes to yeves assues, an obscure ignoble Races Sir John Marsham very reasonably conjectures, that Syncellus, in remarking, as above, to this King's Name; means only to fix the Correction of the Year to the Time, not to the Person of Assis. Which agrees very well with what has been already faid of its being really introduced by Siphoas, or the second Mercury-Chionologiæ nostræ competit id quod Georgius Syncellus Sexto Tanitarum Regi subjicit. Oulos wpoorenne x. T. k. In postrema hujus Regis tempora initia Mercuri incidunt; ita ut huic ille fit fatis æqualis. Can. Chrons p. 235. The five days then were added in the 34th Year of Affis, the fixth Pastor King of the lower Egypt. The most probable Time of the Irruption of the Pastors is the Year of the World 2420. About 209 Years from hence by Sir John Marsham's Table began the Reign of Affic. Whose 34th Year is there fore the 243d from the Paftor Invalion; or the Year of the World 2663. This was 720 Years from the Time of Menes's Death, who first peopled Egypt, and founded the Theban Government. And in about 15 Years from hence, began Siphoas to reign at Theer,

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So that the him. Siphor Topua's De Year was no the Death of speaking of Year, ment number 360 of a Day m whereas Di Hours ; wh than the five דונ דסטב לשל pas wapet T deed the Fab determines t nal Egyptian that is 5 Da Aryslas de o AISa. The מוסקסונוטט בי and TEREIV. Eila was Ear דשו ששושש צ मारहियद कहारी tiais eneles Plut. de If probable for corrected th State of the of Thales's we learn fr maulou, Po

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and Agriculture, by looking constantly up to these fair Deceivers; and remarking, as

so that the Correction might very eafily belong to Sipheas began to reign near a Century after Yelbud's Death; who died in 2578. The Egyptian Year was not corrected till above fourfcore Years after the Death of Joshua. 'Tis remarkable that Herodotus fleaking of the corrected Measure of the Egyptian Year, mentions only an Addition of five Days, to the number 360, without any Intimation of a quarter Part of a Day more being to be added to the reckoning; whereas Diodorus, and Strabo both mention the fix Hours; which shews they were a later Improvement than the five Days. Alyumicol de Telmoninuspous selon-THE TOUS dudence suppas emalours avances stos westernespar waper rou apiquou. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 4. and indeed the Fable in Plutarch, which relates to this Matter. determines the supposed requisite Addition to the origin nal Egyptian Year to be just a seventy-second part of it; that is 5 Days only, without a quarter of a Day over. Atyelas de o pudos oulos en Beagulalors, os eners, mahisa. The Phas, Pasi, neupa to Keovo suplevousins, αισθομενου επαρασθαι του ηλιου αυίη μη ε μηνι μη ε ενίανίω τεκειν. Ερωνία δε του Έρμην της θεου συνελθειν. Είλα παιξανία πεπίια προς την σεληνην, και αφελογία των Φωίων εκασου το έβδομεκοσον, δευίερον εκ σανίων quepas wevie ouverdein, xai rais Enxovia xai relaxoτίαις επείενη ας νυν επαίομενας Αιγυπίοι καλούσι. Plut. de Ifide, et Ofiride, p. 355. Ed. Xyl. probable some general Report of the Egyptians having corrected their Year prevailed in Greece, before the true date of the Fact came to be known there, by means of Thales's intercourse with the Egyptian Priests; as we learn from Diogenes Laertius. Tas TE wear TOU maulou, Paris, autou supers, xar ers recaxorias egaand wente nuepas diexein. Ongers te autou xanningalo, Who or ses Asperton about toes ispense oundestouven. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. p. 7. in Thalete. -- For Herodo-

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accuratively as they could, the diversified particularities of their Relations and Afreca

tus represents Solon a contemporary with Thates Conference with Craesus, to have considered the folar Year as confifting of 375 Days. For the family was necessary to intercalate every other Year a who Month, or 30 Days. Consequently the come Reckoning of 360 Days must have been 15 instead of Days, thort of Truth. Solon, it thould feem the aware the common Reckoning was wrong; but win Mafter of the precise Reformation required in it. The Conversation is very remarkable. In the Conclusion of it Solon reckons up to Crafus the fum of Divis feventy Years to be 26250, which is at the Rate of 375 Days to each Year. The Computation is made by way of answer to Craesus's very hasty and resentful from postulation with the Sage upon his seeming to have be a degrading Opinion of Crafus's Happiness Office Abnace, n de nueleen eudaspoun oule ros arreinlas ten mugen, were ange regionem angemn afrond ultrac entitud upon which Solon lays before him the Measure in Days of human Life at an Estimate of seventy Years-דיישו דשי מדמקנטי העונטי דשי בל דמ בללסענאסיום וונג בסטסבשי שבילואנסילם אמו לואנסטושי אמו בצמאוסצוגושי אמו לוד שינושים, ח בדבףח מיובשי דח בדבףח חובבים דם שמפשים ouder operer weorales wentua. In which length of time, and variety of Events, 'tis impossible, he concludes, to determine rightly upon the Subject of a Man's Happiness, till the whole date is run out. Herod. lib. 1. cap. 32. Ed. Steph.

Cum veterum annus parum cum motu folis apparente congruebat, ex dato die mensis quo factum aliquod notabant non statim exinde patebat qua anni tempestate illud evenit. Igitur quando Agricolæ in Re Rustica aliquod faciendum in stato tempore pracipiebant, tempus illud non per diem Kalendarii civilis indicabant; quippe cadem dies mensis non sempore quoliber

Dignity o dane Cont the Occor Aill increa of the prely the Make of pend upo enial din wateries of des of 1 Trece, an of the Ea the of it effects of Operation. er interr boenery o Philemon, before-han and have a comparati fortunately ons and u

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This gave them high impressions of the Dignity of these Objects in the munthe Occonomy of Life. Which would be fill increased, by observing as to the princiof them in particular, the Sun, how ininly the regular, prosperous, and flourishing Blue of all inferior Nature seemed to depend upon his dispensing Authority, and enial Influence. How the annumber'd rejeties of vegetative Being, the feveral Spedes of Herbs, Grain, Plants, Flowers, Tues, and Eruits; at once the Ornaments of the Earth's own Form, and Support of the of its animated Inhabitants; were the effects of his prolific Virtue, and fecret Operation, upon the differing contents of hir internal Substance. That the whole fenery of the Universe-But I forbean, Philemon, confidering that you have been before-hand with me upon this Argument; and have made any thing I could fay here as comparatively weak and degrading; as at is brunately at the fame time made fuperfluons and unnecessary. And the works had some

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out.

z in prætrik I would very gladly (neturned I) Horamius, exchange your Compliment for your Description. Tho, to say the truth, by

strioribus opus fuit Characteribus ad tempora distinpenda. Itaque Agricole tempora per ortus et occasus stellarum distinguebant. Keil. Astron. p. 264. the flight hint you have here given you have recalled to my thoughts an Image which must have pleaded so strongly with our Egyptian Ruralists for a direct, and un qualified Adoration of the folar Orb sas in great measure to preclude the Apology I was thinking to have made for their first addresses to it of a religious kind by fing gefting, that possibly nothing more might be intended by them, than the Worthing the transcendent Majesty of the invisible Creator, under the Symbol of his most cellent, and feemingly nearest resembling Creature. They might the readier er this way, if they had yet subsisting amongst them some imperfect Tradition of the divine Being's having vouchsafed to converse with and instruct the Men of elder Times, by an Angel, a Glory, some visible Exhibition of his more diffinguished Presence, A manner of Communication, which the faced Accounts feem, I think, to suppose ; and which might be very fuitable to the Condition of the more early Ages, however generally discontinued in succeeding ones. pretend not, with some modern Visionaries, to affert any thing of the precise Form of these Appearances; or to enter into a difquifition of the Nature, and mystical Intendments, of the Paradifiacal Cherubim.

The Fact for mof them, had ligence, or counts; re of Manifel Pore fathe them town not this lea filliels and in general fome visible to fike th of the d Paint onc lo proper worthy of Agnificant two great ome Viev Philosophy an scarce lowed Re couffy to of their M ame the

of the late I most as old Author has a telligible: I thing, as a Cause.

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See a very ingenious Treatife upon the Principle

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The Fact in general is all I am concerned of which of Mankind, the Bulk of them, had now by degrees, either thro' negheence, or dispersions, lost all correct Accounts; retaining Rill a confused Tradition of Manifestations of Divinity made to their Fore fathers under, and Worthip practifed by them towards, a fenfible Prefence; might in this lead them into an opinion of the law filles and expediency of religious Symbols m general? Of having before their Eyes fine visible Object of Adoration; fomething offike the Attention, and ingage the Senfe of the devout Worshipper? Now this Paint once fixed, nothing in Nature furely b proper for the Purpoje, fo every way worthy of the Distinction required; as the fignificant Luminaries of Heaven: The two greater Lights of it in particular; in fome Views of which, the most chaftifed Philosophy of these colder northern Climes. an scarce forbear breaking out into unhallowed Reverence. Consecrated thus spedoufly to the Imagery and Representation of their Maker, they foon, no doubt, became the Rivals of his Honours; and by a gradation as natural, as it has been common the to out the content of the cuter that a difference of the state of

of the late Mr. Hutchinson, intitled, Christianity almost as old as the Creation. It must be owned, this Author has at least made Mr. Hutchinson's Scheme intelligible: And has shewn he has no want of any thing, as a Writer, but a more reasonable and better Cause.

in the Case, from being applied to autifulting Helps apply to Devotions were quickly after wards advanced into the Supreme Objection its property of side of the state of side of the state of the state

Secrets Oberins own William Salind Stines

I will not answer, (seplied Hortenflu how far any fugh misconstrued Tradition of you have been pleading for might contribute to the Introduction of these first practifed Idolatries; but I am very fine the popular Artifices of an accommedating Philosophy, devised in its excuse and visite cation by the more forward Masters in religious Politics, did very much to its support and growing Interest in the World. The importance in general of some Religion to the Purpoles of Society and Government could not but strike the most unpractical Thinker. Whilst more improved Reflection would be apt to suspect the Hopelesines, and Policy to fuggest the inexpedience, of an Attempt to retain the Bulk of Mankind in a perfectly rational One. The wifest would find it extremely difficult; to the Vulgar it might be prefumed little short of impossible; to raise their Thoughts above their Senses; or to any requifite degree conceive, what they were not at liberty to imagine \*. Hence that favorite Doctrine in all learned Paga-Na See on be pinietophical

mifm; more probable probable made visible species of Doctrine, whe inticed

Westsfield.

# This is of the Natur Physicis R Which howe belous way o Theology, t Universe, ta et Vestitus, cognationes, betillitatis h dicuntur ; gritudines, Di bellis pr very good Deum perti terras Cerere qui, qualesq nuncupaveri Deor. lib. 2 hend a kind bis Works, cause the g to frame an les they we Worship of to the lown ably run in Wits amor

hensible to

need of fon

Intel. Syfte

Permolestum enim compluribus videbatur, Intellectu tantummodo Deum pervestigare, non etiam visuusurpare. Kirch. Ob. Pam. p. 159.

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mism; no where more so, than, where it was probably hast contrived in Egypt; of Divinity, as it were, partially imbadied; and made visible to outward View, in the varied species of its own Workmanship. A Doctrine, I am inclined to suspect, which the inticed Weakness of popular Simplicity in the inticed weakness of popular Simplicity in the inticed was an inclined to suspect which the inticed weakness of popular Simplicity in the inticed was a second to supplicity in the inticed was a second to supplicity.

This is what the Stoic in Cicero's fecond Book of the Nature of the Gode, expresses by Tradta ratio Physicia Rebus ad commenticios et fictos Deos. Which however open to Abuse in the popular and fabelows way of treating it; as when the Mafters of this Theology, to explain the Powers and Paffions of the Universe, talk of the Formas Deorum, et Etates, d Vestitus, Ornatulque; genera præterea, conjugia, conationes, omniaque traducta ad fimilitudinem imbeillitatis humanæ; nam et perturbatis animis indicintur ; accipimus enim Deortim cupidicates, gitudines, iracundias; nec vero, ut Pabulse ferenti bellis præfisique caruerunt: yet was capable of a way good Meaning, when confidered as expressing, Deum pertinentem per naturam cujulque rer; per terras Cererem, per maria Neptunum; alios per alia : qui, qualesque sunt, quoque eos nomine, consuetudo mincupaverit, venerari, et colere debemus. De Nat. Der. lib. 2. cap. 28. The Pagans seemed to apprehend a kind of necessity of worshipping God thus in his Works, and in the visible Things of this World; because the generality of the Vulgar were then unable to frame any Notion of an invitible Deity; and, unless they were detained in a way of Religion by such a Worship of God, as was accommodate and suitable to the lowness of their Apprehensions, would unavoidably run into Atheism. Nay, the most philosophical Wits amongst them, confessing God to be incomprehensible to them, seemed themselves also to stand in need of some sensible Props to lean upon. Cudworth's Intel. System, chap. 4. P. 510.

first recommended to the Adoption of pur fophic System; and Men were predical convicted of, before they were taught culatively to entertain. The Biafocofor many drew ftrongly, we may imagine wards a fentible Object of devoue Work a Deity accommodated to their Approba fion; and indulged to their View A friend Presence was of fingular Efficacy in fug. gesting to them a divine one \*. And where by this means the actual Idolatry of the Su and Moon was growing into an Ufage, the Learning of the Times foon fet itself to wor to authorize it as an Establishment; unde pretence, that the Benefits of Providence dispensed to Mankind by the Means of the important Luminaries, could not be bene acknowledged, than by a Devotion to the immediate Beam. The feveral Qualities and Powers of which being only to many Detail vations from the first Cause, the Worthin of them was in truth no other, than the Worship of that Cause under a particular Consideration of its Agency and Effect +

The Truth of this whole Butiness feems to be

the Plea way of populary of Populary of Reserve Confinerry Day Comprehen

his; That hole World on fequently es; or elfe visible Im at as fo m Power and P Devotion to in one ge eme invisib ill; but that in the Worl wont Venerat By mea Author calls a of the fi a fame into " fiderations " of its Po B not impro That the I Goddess Ne Du sipi wo

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Oculum, ac harmonici ordinis Choragum, immortalem illum Jovem virtutis suæ sigillo Universa temperantem conspicerent, (Ægyptii) eum aliquid supra vaturam excellentius, nimirum 70 @1100, quod virtute su omnia moveat, mota distinguat, distincta ornet, calore vesuti amore quodam sympathetico distincta uniat, an bitrati sunt. Kirch. Ob. Pam. p. 157.

the Plea was artfully calculated; at once humour the Inclination, and palliate, as might feem, in fome degree, the abfurding of popular Thinking. Whilst, in this way of Reasoning, new Forms of Worship mere continually arising; and Deity became very Day more and more easy, both of Comprehension, and Access. For the Sun,

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his;

this; That the ancient Pagans did physiologize in their Theology; and, whether looking upon the shole World animated, as the supreme God; and consequently the several parts of it as his living Members; or else apprehending it at least to be a Mirrar, of visible Image of the invisible Deity, and consequently all its several Parts, and Things of Nature, but as so many several Manifestations of the divine lower and Providence; they pretended, that all their Devotion towards the Deity ought not to be huddled to in one general confused Acknowledgment of a superior invisible Being, the Creator and Governor of all; but that all the several Manifestations of the Deity in the World, considered singly, and apart by thempions, should be so many distinct Objects of their demonstration. Cudworth's Intell. Syst. p. 228.

Author calls, "Breaking or crumbling as it were huthor calls, "Breaking or crumbling as it were of the fimple Deity; and parcelling out of the fime into many particular Notions and partial Confiderations, according to the various Manifestations of its Power and Providence." p. 531.—It is not improbable, what our Author observes, p. 309. That the Inscription mentioned by Plutarch to the Goddes Neith, or Minerva at Sais in Egypt—Ilw simi way to yelovos, xai ov, xai ecomesor, xai to employ weaker ouders was Synlos anexadures. De lide et Osir. p. 354——might be intended to except the "Mind or Wisdom of the Deity diffusing

Sun, and Moon pace consciued of as the wifible Exhibitions of Divinity in the Synen

made visible in the several Manifestations Power, Wisdom, and Goodness in the Universe. And that the Veil here said st thrown over this Godden might be a Syn the more recondite, and areans Theology of the gyptians; which confidered this as a fimple Pr or Attribute of the Deity; tho' for the vulgar Conception confidered thus partially in Effects." And this may give us the ground of Orphic Doctrine among the Greeks of the Brain walls. The Hermaic Books, tis more thin part ble, by whomsoever forged, are in the main to upon the Principles of the ancient Hermetic, or megiffic Theology, preserved in traditional Media Egypt, and in the Rituals of her popular hand these Books are full of the December 1 fition. And these Books are full of this Det From their being the late Forgeries of Putoagerean Platenic Sophists, and full of the Characters of Sects of Philosophy, it will not be evinced, that are of a Genius intirely different from the and Egyptian one; seeing the Founders of both their borrowed the main Principles of their Philosophy Egypt; as did the Greeks in general all their Last So that as Jamblicus observes fand Gudtorth proves the Observation) they may weerescen Rep Logac, is was in two Pshorepur grants when ingenious, and entertaining Author of the Archae Phil. lib. 1. 19 79 4to. Revera que faci tierum Dogmata, et quid alios docuerint, ab et discipulis, Philosophis Gracis, resciendum elle vi tur; qui sit notum eft, Ægyptum petere folebant adipissedas literas altiores and elemberes aliunde repetenda est sapientia Ægaptiorum, quam corum Discipulis, Philosophia Grecis, idque pri

the feveral of which i were in g and Partak and Virtue ion demai like bon me Time ing leparat robable, 1 eir partic articular S therwise : beir Princ nuber wi w Addres which bot uch, Phil original Id Egypt, or hors of it, and is, I co tion. Both the Times oriously gu he Practice

ham ab antihagoricis, Pla hagoribus intulepptiacæ ipfi nladumbrare

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the several inferior Orders of celestial Lights, of which it was obvious to think, that they were in general of the same Nature with. and Partakers in degree of the feveral Powers and Virtues of, the superior ones; would for demand in their Place and Proportion like bonourable Consideration. At the me Time that, their number not admiting separate Applications, and Philosophy, 'tis mobable, not as yet sufficiently entring into heir particular Distinctions, to appoint them articular Services; they could not well be therwise adored, than either inclusively in heir Principals; or else in Sum, as it were, guber with them; by way of comprehenhe Address to that magnificent Concave, in which both were alike seemingly disposed. sch, Philemon, I take to have been the riginal Idolatry of the World. Whether Brypt, or Chaldea, were properly the Auhors of it, would, I am sure, be a fruitless, ind is, I conceive, a very needless Disquisition. Both of them, we are certain, before the Times we are now arrived at, were notoriously guilty in the kind; and from them he Practice was too foon propagated to all he various Dispersions of Mankind.

L Of the man Of

hum ab antiquissimis; nempe Orphicis, Ionicis, Pylugaricis, Platonicisque. Patrum imagines in filis et
epotibus intuemus. Et ab his Alumnis. Disciplinæ
luptiacæ ipsius effigiem qualitercunque licet depingereel adumbrare. Ibid. p. 99.

OP this fort (I interpoled) was, I imi gine, Hortenfius, the greatest Pare of those Idolatries mentioned in the earlier Scriptures to have been practifed fo universally, where ever the Yewish People had any Communication. And to which, we find, even the chofen Seed themselves had such an untoward Propension, that not all the Policy of act. vinely fuggefted Discipline for the Purpole exercised upon them for a succession of forth Years, would, in the opinion of their wile and provident Legislator, a little before his Death, prove a sufficient check upon them in this Regard: But, even in possession of Promises, whose very Tenure was a total For. bearance in this kind, they would yer, he very juffly suspected, be here perpetually transgreffing, and in despight of the molt affecting Mementos both in their Hifter, and Ordinances, of Power Superior to the Heavens, would be tempted by the momentary Argument of a fingle Glance to compliment them ever and anon with supreme miftaking

Deut. 4. v. 15, 19. Take good beed, (lays Mifes, to Israel) lest thou lift up thine Eyes unto Heaven, and when thou seest the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Host of Heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord by God hath divided (or as the marginal Reading has it, imparted) unto all Nations under the whole Husva. Ne forte eleves oculos tuos in coelos, et videas Solem, et Lunam, atque stellas, cum universo exercitu colorum, et Impulsus adores atque colas ea.

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Idolatry o ftop here our Inqui ly was; a our facred means re Book of fome Cen fage of M ing at \*) troduced, Heaven i his Chara cular Cor exceeding infifted o Practice, Idolater's in token heavenly pointed o Construct Confequer

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mistaking these useful Instruments of divine Providence, for the exhibited Splendors of divine Majesty. So much, it should seem, was this the prevailing Doctrine, and general Instatuation of these Times.

I AM afraid, (replied Hortenfius) the Idolatry of this Age did not by any means flop here; as you will find in the sequel of our Inquiry. But a part of it this undoubtedly was; and one moreover, as appears from our facred Accounts themselves, of by no means recent Establishment. For in the Book of Job, (who lived, 'tis probable, some Centuries before the Æra of that Paffage of Moses's History you have been hinting at \*) where the illustrious Sufferer is introduced, as appealing to the Sentence of Heaven itself for the general Integrity of his Character; his innocence as to the particolar Corruption of Sabiifm as an impiety exceeding common in his time, is distinctly infifted on: The very Ceremony of its Practice, namely that of Adoration, or the Idolater's applying his Hand to his Mouth, in token of his religious Reverence to the heavenly Luminaries, being particularly pointed out to us: And the true Atheistic Construction of it in all Reason, and sober Consequence, at the same time very remark-

\* He was probably contemporary with the Patriarch

ably afferted in opposition, ince doubt to all fuch inavailing Refinements, as we have above supposed (and are here, I thinks in thorized to suppose) the politic Learning of accommodating Hierarchs, Vor Statefore had propagated in its Apology, and Incomragement . When by these means how ever, as has been faid, the Idolatry of the Heavens was become generally authorized the next Step in the Progress of Apotheofin was, I imagine, for Reasons above occafionally hinted to you, the Confectation of artificial, or common Fire +. This, "twas obvious to think, was both an immediate Communion from, and most expressive as well as permanent Symbol of the Sidereil Splendors. But its chief Recommendation was, its proceeding yet a Degree lower in the levelling Scheme of popular Divinity and bringing down the Gods, as it were, to the Earth; to the very Habitation; Familiarity, and, in some measure, the good Offices, of their Worshippers I hamis

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t Vulcani claudicatio, fays a learned Writer, notat

of Liamo them a go had any re lo Ariking placed bef cerpfion fi dioufly with twas but (what Sen readily cor to the Hon of intercep their Paffag upon all ze pation in t thrown of renient, th And the I the trouble immediate

AND if (refumed I itself into had at lead excuse; the fice, dispo

ignis nostri in here may be that, Nisi lig pore extingu

Si vidi Solem, quando splendebat, et Lunam incedentem clarè, et seduxit sese, (aliter) Lætatum est, in abscondito cor meum, et osculatum est manum meam os meum, etiam hoc suisset iniquitas judicata; qua Abnegassem Deum Desuper. Jab, lib. 1. cap. 31. 26, 27, 28.

<sup>+</sup> Τουλοις γαρ (τοις Φαινομενοις ουρανιοις θεοις) και το συρ αθαναλον Φυλατλομεν εν τοις ιεροις, ου μαλιτα αυλοις ομοιωλαλου. Porph. de Abst. lib. 2. p. 53.

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of L'AMO afraid (faided) it was bringing them a good deal neaver in effect, than they had any realow to defire to he brought. For to friking an Object as the facred Fire once placed before Men's Eyes, as a direct Dife cerption from the celeftial; and fo commod dioufly withal for their religious Applications; twas but to compliment the Subflitutes (what Sense and Imagination would very readily come into) with being too faithful to the Honours of its Principals, ever to think of intercepting them, however unguarded in their Passage; and thus, that uneasy Check upon all zealous Devotion, a conscious Reservation in the exercise of it, might soon be thrown of, as a Restraint not more inconsenient, than really unnecessary in the Case: And the Mind, with the Eye, would be at the trouble of looking no farther, than to the immediate Exhibition, and nearest Species.

And if the Substitute in this Instance, (resumed Hortensius) did thus easily insinuate itself into the Honours of its Principals; it had at least their own Example to plead in its excuse; they having before, by a like artifice, dispossessed of all religious Regard and Reverence

ignis nostri impersectionem. As fancisul as the Analogy here may be thought, the Fact will not be disputed, that, Nisi ligna ac materiem apposueris, perbrevi tempore extinguitur. Vos. de Orig. &c. lib. 2. p. 659.

( 78 )

Reverence the only just Object of any : And under colour of affifting Men to a readier contemplation and fervice of their Maken well nigh banished him from among them, For thus indeed stood the Matter with our Egyptian Speculatifts; that, from the time we are now speaking of being ever at work to exhibit Deity to the Multitude in now Forms of its Effects, they by degrees quite confounded it with them. At least to sulgar Apprehension; to which God, and Nature, foon became the very fame Idea; and the World, which ought only to have been regarded, as the magnificent Theatre of divine Perfections, was itself blafphemoully adored, as the independent Proprietor of them. The Doctrine of Visible-Apotheois being once believed in Egypt; and all Sense and Observation agreeing to direct her, for the first Examples in the kind, to the heavenly Regions; the Residence, 'twas obvious to imagine, of the chief active Powers of the System; the necessity of some convenient Receptacle for the celestial Influences, and Subject of their genial Agency and Operation; and the manifest Accommodation in Nature of the Earth for this Purpose; in the Progress of her levelling Theo.

logy, foon her Homa as to the Occonomy the Heave lative Cha Relation, logic Profe by giving Since from Greek, and do fo, und respective tion ones and Tellus or the who World 1.

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nos obtinuit l
fignat hunc
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num, fi ab A
cultum Tellu
mundi Pars.
fe ingerunt in
primo oculis
offerebant.

d all Senle

† Denique am esse antiq quia ut in rer in eadem Tel Principes Dei

\$ Saturnus ipfe

They were in the Error mentioned by Plutarch; and did, is τα και καλους και ακυραν ήγεισθαι κυθέρη την, και υημαία και κροκας υφανίην, και σπουδειου και μελικραίου, ή ωτισανην ιαίρου. De Iside, &c. p. 377.

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logy, foon drew down her Attention, and her Homage, to this great passive Substance; oconomy . She accordingly confidered the Heavens, and the Earth, under the relative Characters of Male and Female +. A Relation, which her Masters of the Mythologic Projopopæa expressed, we may suppose, by giving them in Marriage to each other Since from hence, 'tis highly probable, the Greek, and Roman Theogonists, learnt to do fo, under the Titles corresponding in their respective Languages to their original Egyption ones; of Ougaves, and In, or Calus, and Tellus; the Parents of Kpovos, Saturn, of the whole regular Oeconomy of the visible 

THE once believed in Free Stand all Senfe

Ex Elementis ante alia, ut arbitror, Tellus divinos obtinuit honores. Idque laxe ea voce accepta, ut
fignat hunc globum terræ et aquæ, qui opponitur cœlefti, hoc est Æthereo et Aereo Corpori—Nec mirum, si ab Æthereis corporibus prolapsi etiam sint ad
cultum Telluris: quando post cœlos ea princeps est
mundi Pars. Etiam uti in cœlis sol et sidera, continuo
se ingerunt in sensus: ita in partibus mundi inserioribus
primo oculis et corporis et mentis, Telluris se bona
offerebant. Vess. de Orig. &c. lib. 2. cap. 51.

† Denique prope omnium ea est veterum opinio Teram esse antiquam matrem, quam cœlo nuptam dixere, quia ut in rerum generatione cœlum resert marem; sic in eadem Tellus esset alma Mater. Voss. ub. sup.—— Principes Dei Cœlum et Terra. Varra. 4. de L. L.

<sup>†</sup> Saturnus quem Cœlu' genit. Ennius. 1. Annal. Saturnus ipse——cum tradatur ordo Elementorum,

Relation (faid 1) menture to have been approved by the fact Cosmogonist humself who in entering na the important Transaction of Creation Universe rising into Being at the efficiency Fine of its Maker; gives us his first ge Picture of it, under the two comprehe Distinctions, of Heaven, and Early Does not this Agreement in the Jewish Egyptian Physiology of this matter, inches one to think, they were both derived from one common Stock of original Tradition the Point? the latter had fraudulent funk one main Article of the primitive Account, in accommodation, as you have of ferved, to popular Prejudice; or as find it, perhaps, agreeable to the Sentiments of corrupt religious Policy, to conceal one Par of the Truth, in order to a more convenient Application of the other +.

temporum Numerolitate diffinctus, loce patela

Macrob. Sat. lib. 1. cap. 22.

\* Imo Deus die primâ fecifie dicitur Codum e Terram, ut plane his debeatur principatus Codum e ac Terrae nominibus etiam in fecifie dicitur Codum ae Terre nominibus etiam in facris literis rerum in telligitur universitas. Voff. de Orig. &c. liber o

JI. Gen. 1. 1.

† In the beginning God created the Heaven, and the Earth. Gen. 1. 1. They failed in common with the earlier Grecian Theologers in a very important Article, of which Anaxagoras is faid to have been the first Restorer. Oulos on wewles dinelleurs von with abam yolon, on Lab bronen ash 1312 marien for the affect " Luist, orre

hour any balk, I Articles of ularly, the se System than wa nces wh may be national borate Phy mul so the corste Ob the m or exclusi e temoter + we at all probably mentione Account; b heir Worshi Diligence Philemon, (c Course e the Apoti ents of all

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ance of the Thing (sewered Horseylas) may, I think, haccount for the Distinction supposed, thout any Intimetion from a Tradition on behalf. I am fentible, forme more recon-Articles of the Egyptian Phylics, as parmarly, their early acquaintance with the softem of the World, could be no her than wareemagadera; Doctrines of Inhewhose Age, and Authorities were, may be, equally obscure. Inasmuch as, national Acumen in Matters of more shorate Physical Research, was by no means al to the Discovery of them. But for an curate Observation of, and Familiarity the more obvious Phanomena of Nan exclusively of any nice Disquisition of temoter Caufes of them; the Egyptians probably, for other Reasons that might mentioned; so especially upon a religious Account; both the Theory and Services of heir Worship obliging them to a very regu-Diligence in this kind. We have already, Philemon, (continued be) attended them in the Course of their Physiological Theology the Apotheofis of the two great Instruunts of all natural Generation; the opera-

τιφηναίο, ως δι προ αυίου, αλλα και περι του κινουντι αυίηυ αιίιου. Eufeb. præp. lib. 10. cap. ult.

Live Subject of them, not Ignola derreffria Mass From whence, is their Decking honoring Caufes in their Effects they me eafily led to deify the Iffue of this topone Cangress, Reoves, Saturn, the to was of the tire mundane Machine , as the next Atie of their increasing Polytheisin But of Object here, taken at large, being of dome what difficult Comprehension, and a Co fideration of it in Parts, not only cooling ing its general Divinity, but even multiply ing, as well as greatly affifting the particular Offices of its Worship; 'twas soon agent to branch it out, for the convenience by of common Conception, and Address in the feveral more confiderable Divin Members, or constituent Principles, of which it was effeemed to be composed. And the we come to those five primary Articles the intire natural Compages, or Ingredien

Hunc (Saturnum) aiunt abscidisse Cab Pat pudenda——Cum Semina rerum omnium post cal gignendarum de cœlo sluerent; et elementa univer quæ mundo plenitudinem sacerent, ex illis Semino funderentur; ubi Mundus omnibus suis partis membrisque perfectus est, terto jam tempore sa factus est procedendi de cœlo semina ad elementon conceptionem; quippe quæ jam plena sueralt la creata——Propter abscissorum pudendorum sabus etiam nostri eum Saturnum vocitarunt: waga της 9 ην, quod membrum virile declarat, veluti Sathunu Macrob. Sat. lib. 1. cap. 8. Το σωμα του κοσμου το Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 11.

of the unia Diodorius, mamely, dis and fabril F Ether, or hite Instru melligent ] Mire U Grof en or Hun amosphere Divisions of ige, invest omerable ( Degrees for Properties, 1 ions of each mined : To of which

Διο και το κλιου και σο κλιου και και σο θείναι και και σο κλιου δία και σο κλιου δια κλιου κλ

of the universal Compound ; mentioned by Dindorus, as To many Deities of Eggpt; namely, Spirit, or a fost, invisibly active, and fubril Flame, the supposed Matter of the Biher, or heavenly Regions; and immemelligent Life. Elementary, or fenfible Fire Cross dry Substance, or Earth. Waen or Humidity. And laftly, the Air or Amosphere \*. Under each of which Head-Divisions of Nature, thus separately, and at invested with a divine Character, inmmerable Orders of inferior Divinities by Degrees sprang up; as the several diffinct Imperties, Effects, and relative Confiderains of each came to be more minutely examined: To fuch fucceffive Inlargements of bidw to playare M 2 throo to a somethe

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the system of natural Apolibeom, as h was the quite endless to repletent to you have a mind to the control of t

Xou need not, (I interpoled hete) their Notice. Subject any farther in detail. The Poul once laid, as you have determined; the perstructure, I am sensible, might be creased to any requisite Degree at pleasur The Masters of such a Theology could no ver want a Pretence to inlarge the Substant of it; whenever, in the course of religio Politics, the quantity of national Superflin fliould be thought proper to be augmented as long as there was any fuch Thing as Fa cy or Invention subsisting in their On A pregnant Imagination might, in the w of Thinking here supposed, devise as man different Species of Divinity, as there we of distinct Beings; or, I may add, as the could be conceived diftinct Powers or Affe tions of those Beings, in the World.

For a view of this Scheme of multiple and particularized Apotheofis literally man Fact, (returned he) one need but run of the List of Grecian, and more emphasical fall, of Roman Deities. In the mean who to return to our Egyptian confessed Leading the kind; whilst they were so religious attentive to the whole Conduct, and A pearance

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· Ou yap woles, anna EXEL MODE Offir. p. 369. de lime Aut and to terate to him, de aleion 9 ne introv. p. alaton xas woe uppua, xai m apa el avoirs Quemadn cintes aquas, nigram, Sichon (Ifa. 23. v. 3. de Causa vocat tellibus. Inde Melo, ut Fast etiam cognosce Ofirin effingan em attenderun Ofris effe ex 1 Sir? Nam Sig minatione addi inte in Vocabu thes in Deorun ( 85 )

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carances of Nature, as has been represented;
b obvious, as well as important a Diffinction
it, as that of Good, and Evil, would
out you may be sure, escape their Notice.
They accordingly deified each Branch of this
Diffinction in their two oppositely personated
Characters of Typhon and Ofiris the Inlamer, and the black, or muddy River 1.

Expressing

Ου γαρ αυχμου ουδε ανεμου, ουδε θαλατίαν, ουδε ποίος, αλλα των οτον η Φυσις βλαδερον και Φθαρίων εχει μοριου, του Τυφωνος ες τν. Plut de Iside et Ope, p. 369. He is called also Σηθ, signifying, says the same Author, το καιαδευνας εμου και καιαβιαίομεν and to express his general Character they conferred to him, των ημερων ζωων του αμαθες αίον ουον, ην δε αίριων θηριωδες αία, κροκοδειλον, και του ποίαμων ίππου. p. 371. ub. sup. Το δε κεκοσμημένου και μίνημα, και ωφελιμου, ως Ισιδός μεν ερίου, εικούα δε και μίνημα, και λοίον Οσιριδός, σεδομεύοι και τιμωθεί ουκ παμαρίανοιμέν. Ubi sup. p. 377.

Quemadmodum vero Nilus Hebræis ob nigricontes aquas, et quia Terram humectans eam reddat
nigram, Sichor, sive Sior, hoe est, Niger dictus est;
(Isa. 23. v. 3. Fer. 11. v. 18.) ita et Græcis eadem
de Causa vocatus est Medas, Plutarcho, et Eustathio,
testibus. Indeque et Latinis veteribus appellatus est
Melo, ut Festus, et Servius, tradidere. Ex quibus
etiam cognoscere licet, cur Egyptii, Plutarcha teste,
Osirin essingant nigrum, nempe nigrum Nili colotem attenderunt. Et quid si dicamus, ipsum nomen
Ostris esse ex Sirbichor, sive, ut mollius pronunciant,
sior? Nam Sior, trajectis literis, sit Osir; unde, terminatione addità Græcanicà ac Romana, Osiris. Jam
inte in Vocabulis Peas xai Hens, ostendimus, Gentiles in Deorum nominibus istiusmodi trajectione ga-

Expressing thus the general Interests of Mil chief and Beneficence in Nature, by a par ticular local Exemplification in each Minds their own Country : The former Chand being, if Properly that of the Sun, confiden "ced as bringing on yearly the intente sum " mer Heats in Egypt "; the latter of the " Nile, confidered in his annual overflow there during the chief part of the Summer " Seafon, as an especial Provision in Nature to on its Favour, on that Regard." 10 For the was, I need not inform you, the Fact here Philemon; that at what time the fold he fluences were most afflicting to the By tians, and feemed to threaten the mile Desolation of their Country by excessive and increasing Drought; the Nile, in a kind of Patron Character to a Land he had himes given being to as fueb, by repeated spoil from a neighbour District +; increased by their continual Rains which had for form Weeks been falling in Ethiopia; regularly deluged a great Part of its Surface : Hereby tow make ute of this dixpelling to charace.

visos; ne, si vulgata eorum retinerentur vocabulal haut aliud viderentur, quam Elementa. Vos. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. 2. cap. 74.

γείονεναι του Τυφωνα, και ονωδη την χροαν. Phil. de Isid. p. 262.

† Επικίπλος τε γη, και δωρου του πολαμου. Herod. Ευτεγρε, cap. 5. Καθολου γαρ την νυν ουσαν Αιγυπτου λείουσιν ου χωραν, αλλα βαλατίαν γείονενας. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 144.

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r denote River; to this Founder improvir tians materize the As on the contrary tacter of in the State of the

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of only abating in a very fensible Manner be instant Distress; but likewise, by the amo Methods he had gradually accumulated; till continuing to inrich the Egyptian Soil; and preparing it for an easy and successful calture for the Service of the insuing Year, upon the Recess, or drying off of the Flood.

The Hall ways understood (said I) Offris to be the Egyptian Character of the Sun, in wality of his being, as they represented him, many-eyed \*, or overlooking the whole exent of the Universe. I am sure, I have somewhere met with this account of the same.

THE other I have been giving you, (replied Hortensius) is, I think, the truer; that it denotes, in strict Acceptation, the muddy River; or the Nile. Tho', in compliment to this so friendly Stream to Egypt, the Founder, as well as Guardian, and annually improving Power of the Country; the Egyptians make use of this Expression to characterize the whole friendly Interest in Nature. As on the other hand, Typhon is for a direct contrary Reason, made the general Character of Desect, Disorder, and Mischies in the System. In this way of Thinking, the Sun, in different Views of his Operation.

<sup>\*</sup> Πολυοφθαλμον, so Diodorus interprets the name, Multoculum, lib. 1. bib. p. 11.

ration, either in Egypt, or in Nature, may you will observe, he both Typhen, and Of risis Typhon, as the Gaufe of intente fourth ing Heat , Offrisi as the Principle of kind and genial Warmsh; the inlivening and fertilizing Power of the whole Universe! But as Fear is ever a more powerful Me tive to Observation than Love, he was I believe, more generally regarded in the Bryptian Worthip under his Typhanic Checacherior Inafmuch as we learn from Pleterch, they were used to represent mild moderated, and generative Light, or Hell as the more peculiar Dispensation of the ber and qualified lunar Orb; as if it were necessary, she should first receive, and temper the Sun's Beam, before it could be communicated with any beneficent Effect to the Earth +. Agreeably to which Notion, of

Cum duo olim statuerentur principia rerun moislina, unum boni omnis, alterum omnis mali a Egyptii in sole ipso utrumque spectarunt. Ac a bono quidem principio esse dixerunt vim benesicam, qua Lunam illuminat, ac vitalem animantibus insinuat ca lorem. A malo autem principio esse crediderunt vim malesicam; quando suo stirpes ardore exsiccat, animantibus etiam pestilitatem, et exitium, nimio induci actu. Quatenus igitur esset benesicus Osiridem voca runt; et quatenus idem foret malesicus, nominarun eum Typhona. Voss. de Orig. lib. 2. cap. 24.

Τυφωνα μεν οιονίαι τον ηλιακον κοσμον, Οσιξι δε τον σεληνιακον την μεν γαρ σεληνην γονιμον το φω the notice when the hard period of the hard period

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the more immediate Agency of the Moon in the Operations of a kindlier Warmth in Nature, they celebrated an annual Festival upon the opening of their vernal Scaling to the hopes of the Year, calling it the Entry of Offic, or benign and generative Virtue, into that Luminary \*. In this Supposition, you lee, the Moon becomes Office As is sometimes, with more particular Distinction still, the Full Moon; or the most perfect Exhibition of the Lunar Phasis \* In opposition which, Typhon is either an Eclipse happening at that Instant ‡; on the succeeding Stages of the Moon's Wane | Sometimes

οίων είναι βλας ποεσι του δε πλίου απραίω ωθρι παλπρωκοία θαλπείνε και καθαυαίνειν τα Φυομενα, παι τεθηλοία και το ωολυ μερος της γης ωανίαπασιν ίπο Φλοίμου ωσιείν ασικήθου. Plut. de Iside, p. 367-

Tis in this differenced Character of the folar and lunar Orbs, that the Mythologists make Hercules, or Brutal Force, to have its Residence in the one, and Mercury, or Counsel, in the other. Και το μεν πλιω τον Ηρακλεα μυθολοίουσι ενιδρυμενον συμπεριπολειν, τη δε σεληνη του Ερμην λοίου γαρ ερίοις εοικέ και παρα εοθιας τα της σεληνης, τα δ εν ηλιω πληίαις υπο Βίας ναι ρωμης περαινομεναις. Plut. de Iside, p. 367.

† Εδδομη επι δεκα την Οσιριδος γενεσθαι τελευίην μυθολοίουσιν, εν ή μαλις α γινείαι ωληρουμενη καία δηλος η ωανσεληνός, διο και όλως τον αριθμον τουίον αφοσιουνίαι. Ubi tip.

† Kai kalangalein wohhaxou kai rns σεληνης. Plut. de Isid. p. 367.

In this way of Thinking, Ofiris is faid to have reigned

times Oficialis Humidity in generaly conf. der'd as a necessary Condition to animalin vegetative Generation, and Life, as opposed to which, Typhon is Drought to or whatever tends to deftroy, or diminish from due Proportion of genial and radical Mo sture in Nature \*. Sometimes Ofining the Nile confidered as, by its yearly Preci pitations of an earthy Sediment collected in Ethiopia, having gained Egypt from the Sea; and Typhon is here the previous Property of the Ocean in these Parts + Some times Ofiris is the Nile, as in its yearly Overflow inriching the Land of Egypt, and Typhon the Sea, as absorbing that River at several Mouths on the northern Side of

reigned 28 Years. And to have been torn by Typhan into fourteen Parts; the number of Days from the Full-Moon to the New; or the Time of the Moon's Wane.

Οι δε σοφωθεροι των ίερεων Οσιριν μεν απλως απασταν την ύγροποιον αρχην και δυναμιν, αθιαν γενησεως, και σπερμαθος ουσιαν νομιζονθες, Τυφωνα δε παν το αυχμηρον, και πυρωδες, και ξηρανθίκου όλως, και πολεμιον τη ύγροθη . Plut. de Iside, p. 364. This was the Foundation of the Mythology, that the Phallus of Osiris was by Typhon thrown into the Nik, and devoured by Fish. The Meaning here being, doubtles, to express the fertilizing Quality of Water.

the Egyptians celebrated the Victory of Orus over Typhon, or the Expulsion of the Sea from their Country, by the annually increasing Sediment of the Nile.

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Sometimes in a more refined, and while philosophic Sense, Offris is the whole wing a Prepollency of good in its Effects; and Typhon the several partial and subordinate Workings of a malicious Power in the plant. In all which several Views of supon which he is, in the Egyptian Mead of Representation, supposed to operate accomplishment of the Effect ascribed to munder each of them; is called Ifis. As

θαλασσα γαρ ην ή Αιγυπίος, ο Νειλος εξεωσας εξαλασσαν ανεφηνε το wedion, και ανεπληρωσε ταις μιχωσεσιν. Plut. de Iside, p. 367.

Παρ Αιγυπίτοις Νειλου ειναι του Οσιριυ Ισιδι συνουιπ γη, Τυφωνα δε τηυ Θαλασσαν, εις ήν ο Νειλος
πίθων αφανιζείαι και διασπαίαι. Plut. de Iside,

Ac ex eorum Sententia, (Egyptiorum) in hac rum ab utroque principio mistura, prævalet facultas divis numinis: attamen non in tantum ut deterioris as aboleat prorsus: quippe et vis ista deterioris acipii penitissimis inhæret corporibus, saltem illis b Luna constitutis: atque inde est, quod meliori aper repugnet Facultati. Voss. de Orig. et Prog. col. lib. 1. cap. 5. In this View, the Egyptians and to represent Typhon under the Figure of a Riverbrie, with a Hawk and Serpent sighting upon his col. The meaning was, that the evil Principle in ature, tho' continually opposed, never gives way folly to the good One. To signify, however, that some Instances he submits for a Time, the People Hermopolis, had a Festival to Isis returning out of banicia with the Body of Osiris, upon which occano they sigured Typhon as bound upon their Cakes.

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is the relate of their mutual Congress, of Thus Iffs is fometimes the Moon, as par to the Light of the Sun; and Orus. Computation of Time as effected by Revolutions of these Orbs. Sometimes is the Air, or Earth, as passive to the kin lier Influences of the Heavens in general or at other Times, to those of the Moon particular; and the Effect of thee s of Seafon, and confequent Plenty of all getative Productions. Sometimes It is a distinguished Regard, the Land of Eg watered and inriched into an especial in Fruitfulness by the Overflowing of the Mi Sometimes the is the intire passive Natu of Things in the abstract; and Orus, t Off-spring of her Communication in the Sense with the universal active Nature, the same with the whole Constitution of t fensible World. Each of which differe Confiderations of these deified Characters active and Passive Power in the Univer and numberless others that might be add to them \*, are the Foundation of diftin Ceremonies in the Egyptian Religion,

AND now, Philemon, having, I thin taken a general View of the chief Article of the original Idolatry of the Egyptian the Worship of Nature; we are next to it qui

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. Plut, de Iside et Ofiride. Libellum passim.

( 93 )

Science in Religion, by which they were to represent these several Natural Divities we have been speaking of, under cerin animal or artificial Figures, consecrated this Purpose. But as I would not tire our Thoughts with too continued an Atmion to the same Subject, and our Morning I believe, is already pretty far spent; we fill farther and finishing Improvement their physical Theology, by the Introduction is the human Apotheosis, or Hero-Worship in it; for another Day's Speculation.

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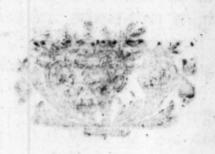
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## PHILEMON

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#### HYDASPES:

RELATING

A FOURTH CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS upon the Subject of False Religion.

IN. WHICH .

A farther GENERAL ACCOUNT is endeavoured to be given of the Rise and Constitution of False Theory in Religion in the Earlier Pagan World,

THE THIRD EDITION.



LONDON:

Printed for DAN. BROWNE, without Temple-Bar, M DCC LIII.

# MYDASPES:

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#### HILEMON

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## HYDASPES.

HERE is not, I have often thought, Hydaspes, a more essective against the Pride of Learning, than to rest a little on the Materials of which a part of it consists. What, for example, is the whole Science of more ancient of the whole Science of more ancient of the whole Science of more ancient of the whole Science of the work it, but tracing back Human Nature to state of Infancy, and greatest Imperation? and conversing with it in such wand childish Particulars, as can alone receive

receive a Merit from being confidered the first weak Eslays of Improvement, the Principles of higher Attainments, and the Introduction to a better and more interest ing Scene of Affairs? For thus it is H daspes, we must undoubtedly bring our selves to conceive of primitive Antiquity or we shall never arrive at any useful A quaintance with it. Modern Notions at the same abstird Comment upon the Sent ments and Practices of the first Ages of Mankind, that the correct Judgments of our advanc'd Life would be upon the ray Apprehensions of our Childhood. And yet ridiculous as fuch a Procedure may appear it has the Credit at least of Numbers of its Party. For, whether it be, that h Reverence Men are usually taught to pa to Antiquity, really blinds their Judgmen of it; or that we are all of us too mud interested in the Portraiture of our Kind not to prefer at all times a flattering to real Likeness; or whether after all th mere Prejudice of Custom, and the Diffi culty there experimentally is in exchanging Habits of manly, for those of childid Thinking, is itself a sufficient Solution of the Point; the Fact however is too noto rious: "That in no Subject has Truth ful " fer'd more by an over-fond Mixture of " Imbellishment, than in that of Primitive

" History." Writers, the most cold and

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menterprifing in other matters, have here for the most part assumed the Sprightliness of Romance; and made a general Sacrifice of Certainty to Fiction, Credibility to Ormment. How much this complimenting Antiquity into Attainments it certainly had not, tends to perplex the Discovery of those it really had, there needs but little Reflection to conceive. Total Darkness being, I had almost said, a safer Guide, than a falle Light, as the one at worst but leaves in Ignorance, the other necessarily leads is into Error. A wide Field, Hydaspes, where is scarce any end of wandering! Witness the numberless contradictory Systems of Pagan Superstition, that swell so many abour'd Volumes in the learned World; of which 'tis hard to determine, whether they have more embarras'd themselves. ach other, or the Cause in general. of whose multiplied and various Intricacies however, I know of no Clue which will commodiously lead our Thoughts, as the Application of that lowering Regimen above mentioned. A Remedy perhaps, like many others, therefore only so generally overlooked or neglected, because it is indeed the most easy, natural, and obvious one. for, amidst all the Pains that have been taken to perplex this Subject under colour of refining it, the native Meanness of its Original is yet too visible to an unprejudic'd B 2

dic'd Bye, to suffer one to doubt its hen indeed the Product of Ages, whose Acquirements may better excite our Compation, chan our Envy. A Point, Hydafe you will, I clare say, think sufficient established, when you shall have peruse the Recital I am going to present you with of the Continuation of Hortenfus's Discourts me of the Cenius and Constitution of sa Theory in Religion in the earlier Pagan World



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#### PART II.

and uninterrupted, as in my last R port: when Hortensius, knowing the Bu of my Inclinations this way, thus volunt rily resumed the Subject of our Inquiry. We had, (said he to me) I think, pret well gone through the Head of the natural Theology of the Antients; \* and were not o examine a little into the Grounds at Constitution of their Symbolic, and Here Worship. But before we go any farther Philemon, I have a previous Point or to mention to you, which has since of

\* See a Pamphlet intitled, Philemon to Hydali

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a Conference occasionally struck me in private Thoughts upon this Subject. ne is, to give you a Caution in regard to at part of our Inquiry which is past; the her, to propose an Amendment or Alteram of Method, which I have recollected in myself to be necessary, in what is t to come. For the former, Philemon, e pleased then to observe, that, though nder the Head of the physical or natural heology of ancient Paganism, I chose, as ell for Clearness as Dispatch, to throw the feveral more distinguished Articles fit into one general View, as Parts of an nire System; yet it was by no means my mention to represent them to you as begall of equal, or nearly equal, Antiquity with one another; or to have you imagine, hat many of them were not even of a ter Date in History, than some parts both fthe Symbolic and Heroic Worship: howper these, as you have heard, are ranked If in the general Division of our Subject.

I AM oblig'd to you (said I) Hortensius, for your Care to prevent Mistakes; though I must at the same time think your Cauton here rather scrupulous, than necessary. Every one must be aware, that such a Theology as you described could only be the Work of Time, and successive Improvement. Common Sense teaches one, that

that Systems, as the Proverb tells us of Cities, are not built in a Day. All I understood you to mean was, that such, as you represented it, was, sooner or later, the natural Worship of Paganism; your Point being all along to mark out the several more distinguished Stages of its Progress, not to settle the exact Chronologic Periods of it.

tide overedo or narla ha

I AM glad (return'd he) Philemon, to find you are so fully possest of my Meaning; which I must attribute, however, more to your good Judgment in the Cafe, than to my own Accuracy. But though my Caution, as I perceive, was needless, the Amendment I have to propose in our Scheme of future Inquiry is, I am fure, a very necessary one. Which, in few words, Philemon, is this: That, in reverse of the Order hitherto affigned to the two remaining Articles of our Refearch, we first take into Confideration the Heroic Worthip of the Egyptians, and then proceed to their Symbolic. For this, upon better Reflection, I find to be the real, hiftoric Order of them. Their Symbols, as will appear in its Place, upon the united Evidence of Fact and Reaion, owe the whole of their prepofterous Divinity to that of their Heroes; nor would ever probably have been taken into the number of the Gods, but upon the preestablish'd Apotheosis of certain Deities of Human Human K fides the IN inc Truth, commendatural Accordance I dequence I ticular, the refined H with an and less J generally of generally of the state of the state

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Human Kind: An Hypothesis, which, besides the Merit of being sounded in Histonic Truth, has moreover the additional Recommendation of promising us a more natural Account of the Rise and Progress of the
samed Hieroglyphic-Science of Egypt in
general, and of that very remarkable Consequence hereof, its Brute-Worship in particular, than any of those so differently
refined Hypotheses in the Point, which
with an equally greater shew of Subtilty,
and less Justiness of Information, have been
generally offered to the World in its stead.

You are doubtless, (interpos'd I) Hortensius, the best Judge of the Propriety of your own Method; and have so much a more comprehensive Knowledge of our present Subject than I can pretend to, that I should have no Objection to hearing you in any way you might choose, even tho' I could not enter into the particular Rea-But in the Case now before us lons of it. I can very evidently discern thus much at least, that one well-attested Fact in Antiquity is worth a Volume of plaufible Conjectures about it. I am moreover in general, you know, no great Lover of Rehnement; and rather, it may be, too apt to suspect Delusion, where I meet with over-much Subtilty. But more especially and intirely am I for banishing it in Que**ftions** 

Stions of more ancient History; where in deed it carries its Confutation in its own Face; and has too strong Marks of Time, and of successive Industry, as well as Acquisition, upon it, to be admitted with any tolerable Grace and Probability.

FROM the Worthip then, (refumed Hera tenfius) of the more illustrious Parts of Na ture, let us proceed in the History of Pagan Apotheofis to that of Heroes. A Title, Phi lemon, of which I am afraid, we must not a little humble the usual Lottiness of our modern Conceptions, or we shall greatly exceed the true antique Standard and Quality of it. The very Sound of Heroism to most Ears carries in it formething great and venerable; and, if it does not immediately hurry our Thoughts into all the fond Extravagancies of Romance, at least engages them in some of the more shiring Periods of History. The Founders of improved Policy; the great Masters of Atts, or Arms; the triumphant Invaders of foreign Liber ties; or the more enviable Guardians, of Restorers of their own national ones; these are some of those glittering Images which in our advanc'd Days generally form the Character of an Hero. Hardly indeed shall we be brought to enter into so disparaging an Idea of it, as yet Antiquity affures us to have been the true original one: in which

which the bandman. chanic of mon Blac " all his was a fuff in his Li wards. ral Practi rous Age forward ( to their I tributed Life, the Death fr Men, b

\* ATO ALITO, O B μαλα σε 60 шара те Е так-Ент AUBAS TE שוששי סדו CHETTH TW DaBer In A SI PREVITAG Præp. Ev + 'Ou מוצע דחק א da yeunga αλλα Βαυ אמתוש דס

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p. 184.

(9)

which the Occupation of an ordinary Hushandman, Thatcher, Huntsman \*, or Mechanic of the most fordid Class; a mere common Blacksmith, as Lucian has it, " passing " all his Days amidft Sparks and Smoke+," was a fufficient Recommendation to Heroism in his Life-time, and to Deification afterwards. For this, Philemon, was the general Practice of the ruder and more barbaious Ages; that, in the eagerness of a too forward Gratitude to those first Benefactors to their Kind, who had in any Degree contributed to the better Accommodation of Life, they no fooner faw them removed by Death from the Society and Commerce of Men, but they exalted them to that of

Απο τουτων εγενουτο έτεροι, ων ο μεν Αγρος εκαλείτο, ο θε Αγρόυπρος η Αγρότης, ού και ξοανον έιναδ
μαλα σεδασμιου, και ναον ζυγοΦορουμενου εν Φοινικη,
παρα τε Βιβλέοις εξαιρετως θεων ο μεγιστος ονομαζεται Είτα Φησί τον Τψουρανιου οικησάι Τυρου, και
λυβας τε επίνοησαι από καλαμων και θρυων κάι παι
τυρων στασίασαι δε προς τον αδελΦον Ουσωον, ος
σκεπη τω σωματί πρωτον έκ δερματων ων ισχυε συλι
λαβείν θηρίων ευρέ τουτωυ δε τελευσαντων τους απολιιΦθεντας Φησι ραβδους αυτοις αφιερωσαι. Ευίεb.
Prep. Evang. Lib. I. p. 35. Ed. Parif.

Τ΄ Ομοια δε τουτοις και ωερι της Ήρας αδουσιν, αιτ της προς του αυδρα ομιλιας, υπευεμιου αυτην ωαιλε γενησαι του Ήφαιστου, ου μαχα ευτυχη τουτου, 
αλλα Βαυαυσου, και Χαλκεα, και Πυριτην, και εν 
καπνω το ωαν Βιουντα, και σπιυθηρων αναπλεων, οια 
δη Καμινευτην. Vid. Lucian: Op. Edit. Bourdelot.

P. 184.

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the Gods.\* Nor was indeed the Gradation at all unfutable to the Genius of those Times; that having first worshipped, as we have feen, their natural Benefactors, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in gratitude for the several natural Benefits derived to them from their Agency and Influence, they should next pay the fame Compliment to their Civil ones: who had, as it were improved upon what the others had began; had carried their first beneficent Design into Hill farther Execution; inlarged the Sphere of human Happinels; and instructed the Contemporaries at once to multiply the Comforts of Life, and guard against the Inconveniencies inseparable from a merely natural State of it.

You are for making the most (I interposed) Hortensus, of your Heroes Ments, I perceive, and displaying them to the greatest Advantage. The after all, the Temple of Fame was, it should seem, of much easter access in ancient, than it is in modern Times; the same humble Attainments being then sufficient to taile a Man to the highest Class of his Species, which now would scarce escape Contempt, even in the lowest.

Sol differen the rea We w elated v vantage in Age, we are these rue Human selves ar ments in certainly of nothin it was inc ration of undervalu fent. A I know n absolute Is a Point of than any provemen of Genius Authors o of Life, t them by A higher De The one is

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<sup>\*</sup> Τους Αλλους κοινης τε τινοί και Βιωφελους ενεργεσιας ωροαρξαυτας, ζωυτας τε ετι, και μετα τιλευτην Θεους επεφημισαν. Euseb. Præp. Lib. II cap. 5. pag. 70.

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So much (return'd he) Philemon, does a difference of Circumstances in Things alter the real Moment, and Quality of them. We who are full of modern Ideas, and tated with the Privileges of a more advantageous Situation in Life, equally distant in Age, and Simplicity from the Period we are speaking of, are apt to undervalue these ruder Beginnings, and first Efforts of Human Art, and Industry; as being our+ felves arrived at much superior Refinements in the Kind. But a Merit they certainly had with those who were Masters of nothing better; and fuch an one, as, if it was indeed greatly over-rated in the Adopation of past Times, would be full as much undervalued in the Contempt of the pre-And to fay the truth, Philemon, fent. I know not, but the first Step gain'd from absolute Ignorance and Barbarism is in itself a Point of higher Importance to Mankind than any of the subsequent Stages of Improvement. It is perhaps a stronger Proof of Genius and Sagacity to have been the Authors of the first coarse Accommodations of Life, than to have polished and refined them by After-thought and Skill into much higher Degrees of Usefulness and Elegancy. The one is intirely matter of original Invention; the other only improving upon Notices already received in part from without; and profiting by the Skill and Capacity of those C 2 who

who have lived before us. But whaten be the Merit of these first rude Artists with regard to later Times, they had, doubtles as has been observ'd, a very considerable one in their own. Having indeed railed Life, if not to that Perfection of Accommodation it has fince received, yet certainly to a much more commodious and comfort able State than they found it in; and this too at a time, when Art and Invention were Talents equally uncommon and advantageous. A Sense of which was then to strong upon the Minds of Men, that Apo. theofis after Death was thought but a futable Recompence to Persons of such extraordinary Eminence and Usefulness while living. Gratitude for Benefits receiv'd, Philemon, is a natural Refult of that inbom Self-Love which is the great ruling Principle of Human Action. And would operate, we may eafily imagine, with a Force unknown to us of later Days in those Ages of rude undisguised Nature, the Simplicity of which could only be equalled by their extreme Helplessness. Under such Circumstances, the slightest Services to the Public would be received with all the Rapture of the most important Obligation; and raise the Reputation of their Author to an Height fomething more than mortal: As indeed they might well do, confidering the low Standard of ordinary Attainments in the being miles in the second second fame

me earlie cannot, I ne renowi no' genera well as cription, much m iod of A omplimer ul Weakr oth the nd the D o heighte to exalt th aid, wor Ages. V enough to at the fan with the by degre and gain first mere

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me earlier Times. For 'tis in this view cannot, I must confess, help looking upon ne renowned Labors of the Heroic Ages, no' generally represented to us by Ancients, well as Moderns, with a Pomp of Deription, which might even do honor to much more advanc'd and imbellish'd Peod of Affairs. But the Truth is, being omplimented with Divinity by the grateal Weakness of their own Times, they had oth the natural Uncertainty of Tradition. nd the Disposition which most People have o heighten what they do not understand, n exalt them into Wonders, I had almost aid, worthy of Divinity, in succeeding Ages. Whilst the few, who were wife mough to fee through the Delufion, were at the fame time crafty enough to let it pass with the rest of the World; till they had by degrees extracted a System of refin'd and gainful Politics, out of what was at first mere artless Admiration, and ignorant Amazement.

This is a much more rational Account (aid I) Hortensius, I think, of the Introduction of the Human Apotheosis, than theirs, who are for resolving it into the immediate Artifice of Priests, or Politicians. And indeed, besides that the Reason of the Thing itself speaks it to have been the Creature of Ignorance and Barbarism; the other Opinion

nion feems to me not very agreable matter of Fact and History. Every but knows, how very disadvantageously to Divinity of Alexander and Cafar stand differenced from that of the more antico Heroes of the fabulous Ages. And w furely the Merits of these two celebrate Persons were every way as equal to the Dig nity of the complete Apotheofis, as the of any of their Predecessors in Heroism of be pretended to be. Nor were, I think the Arts of Priestcraft and Policy ever in more improv'd State than at the Period here mentioned. What then is the natura Construction of this fo remarkable an Infe riority on their Part, but plainly, I think this? That the Times of Alexander an Cafar were too much inlightened to autho rise anew, in its full Latitude, so gross a Absurdity in their Religion, as the Wor ship of a Fellow-Creature. I say to author rise it anew, Hortenfus. For, that the kept to a Worship of the same kind del vered down to them from their Anceston was purely an Accommodation to popula Weakness and Prejudices; from a Sense the Hazard there is in undermining Foun dations long laid, and a Fear of throwin the Multitude out of all Religion, by en deavouring to rescue them from the Re proach of an irrational one. But while they durst not venture to reform the popul

System lous how for to i disgracines, they aking the omplimer

\* With ho der to be e e height of nt Evidence atigue of a Expence and Pri ally proclain livinity was h-Igitur quirere, ( berare, per aponderi ve Antiftites, u s quoque f on pro Reg low flender nt to add ( Phareb's A liment of rom our H ad received notice of itlimiliaris an mis Oracul gatulari qu teterum Mif a qui moc Lib. vi. 27. linging Rep reable

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System of Superstition, they were scrulous however of adding more Articles of for to it. And the they were tender disgracing the Divinity of their old Hees, they were not, it should seem, for aking the same rash and unwarrantable ompliment to new ones \*.

viit, cap. 26.

Your

With how little Success the Affectation of Alexir to be esteemed a God was attended, even in height of his Fame and Victories, we have abunnt Evidence in Antiquity. It stood him in the aigue of a long and troublesome Journey, besides Expence of feveral coftly Donations to the Temand Priests of the Libyan Jupiter, to be nomiby proclaimed for fuch; the ferious Bellef of his winity was what he was by no means able to estah-Igitur Alexander cupiens divinam Originem mulrere, (says Fustin) simul et Matrem infamia berare, per præmissos subornat Antistites, quid sibi sponderi velit. Ingredientem Templum statim milities, ut Hammonis Filium falutant, Comitisquoque suis reponsum, ut Alexandrum pro Deo, on pro Rege, colerent. Justin. Lib. xi. cap. 11. of to add (what appears both from Diedorus's and March's Account of the Matter) equivocal Comment of the Oracle upon this Occasion, appears om our Heroe's own Account of the Answer he directived from Philatas, upon first giving him mice of it—Hic quum scripfissem, ei, projure tam lmiliaris amicitiæ, qualis fors edita effet Jouis Hamani Oraculo, fustinuit rescribere mihi, se quidem gatulari quod in numerum Deorpm relatus essem ; tterum Misereri Eorum quibus vivendum esset sub qui modum hominis excederet, Quint. Curt. b. vi. 27. The same Author informs us of the linging Reproach offered to Alexander, upon his seding Divine Honors, by Hermolates, in the following

Your Observation (return'd he) Phil mon, is certainly a very just one. Pre-

lowing Words Tu Macedonas voluifti genus poneres venerarique te ut Deum. Tu Philipp Patrem aversaris, et si quis Deorum ante fa Mirans, liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possum Quint. Curt. Lib. viii. cap. 26. They had flill reason to indure the Vanity of Alexander here. they were aware, as Plutarch tells us some rep fented the Case, that the whole Pretence upon wh he founded his Title to Adoration was a missa Pronunciation of the Greek Language by the Pri who presided at the time of his Libyan Expedit in the Temple of Jupiter .- Enerde diegealour To שנים אובי בוב דחש שמאוש, ס שבי שפס שודחב מעדסי ס א ששום מחם דסו שבפט צמופבוין שב מחם שמדפם, דו TEITEN O DE EMMEETO, MATIS QUITON EIN SERMEDEUYUS του πατρω Φονεων ς ευφημείν δε του προφητου κ KETAVTOS, (OU Jap Elvas Watepa Juntos autu) ταδαλλών εποθθαθετό κ τ λ-ενιοι δε Φασιν, τοι Ελληνίοτι Βουλομένου προσεί πείν, μέτα νος ΦιλοΦροσυνης, Ω σαιδίου, εν τω τελευταιω Φθογίων υπο Βαρξαρισμού προς το σιγμα εξειχ vai, xai einely, Q waiding, arre Tou " TO E XIM MEDON ) achein de to Alegardon to Takha tis ins yever Jai, nat diadodniat hoyor, we waida A αυτου του θεου φροσειποντος Plut. in Alex. p. 68 Ed. Xyl. What the wifer, and difinterested Port of the Romans, thought of Cafar's Divinity, following Passages will sufficiently inform us-Pr gravant tamen cætera Facta, ut abufus Domin tione, et jure Cæsus existimetur. Non enim hor res modo nimios recepit, sed et ampliora huma fastigio decerni sibi passus est. Sedem auream curia, et pro Tribunali. Thenfam et Ferculi Circensi Pompa. Templa, Aras, Simulachra ju

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Deos, Pulvi em Menfis 6. -To the Civibus am Circa Tem Corona, Su Mensis in C natam Mort ap. 2. C his Time a Conscripti, fuiffe, ut I tr! Ut in acerentur wil dico Adduci tan mungeres 16. Ed. nt fovi, u Intonius ? faftigium,

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aptions enough to answer for, without eing charged with imaginary ones. Tis great Mistake to think, that they first aught Men Superstition. That would robably have been a Strain of Art beyond he Compass of their most refin'd and sub-il Politics. Nor was it any way to their surpose to attempt this, when they could arry their Point sull as successfully, and much more easily with Mankind, by dealing with them as already instructed to their ands. They indeed found them abundantly self-taught in the Business of Superstition, The Seeds of Religion were either

Des, Pulvinar, Flaminem, Lupercos, appellatiomem Mensis e suo Nomine. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 6. To the same purpose Florus - Itaque non ingratis Ciribus amnes honores unum in principem congetti. Circa Templa imagines, in Theatro distincta radiis Corona, Suggestus in Curia, Fastigium in Domo, Mensis in Coelo—quæ omnia velut infulæ in deftistim Morti victimam congerebantur, Flor. Lib. w. up. 2. Cicero speaks net more plainly the Sense of his Time as to this Point An me cenfetis, Patres lonscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuiffe, ut Parentalia cum Supplicationibus mifcerenw? Ut inexpiabiles Religiones in Rempublicam in-Accrentur? ut decerherentur Supplicationes Mortuo? mil dico Cui. fuerit ille Lucius Brutus, &c. -Adduci tamen non possum, ut quenquam Mortalium mjungerem cum immortalium Religione. Phil. to Ed. Grev. and elewhere, Lift ergo Flamen, Il fovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, fic Divo Julio M. Intenius? - Quæres placeatne mihi Pulvinar Effe, lafigium, Flaminem ! mihi vero nihil istorum plaet. Phil. ii. 43.

by the Hand of Nature or Tradition fown thick in the Breast of every Man. And though for want of proper Care and Cul ture they might not yield the good Produce they were intended to do, they would not however fail to spring up in some wilder Species of a less valuable Fruitfulnes as was, it must be confess'd, too generally the Case. Now here properly came in the Art and Address of the Hierarch, and the Statesman. He was to fall in with the particular Vogue and Cast of popular Delusion in this kind; to cherish the prevailing Weakness of the Multitude; and by dexterous Conduct and Application of pub lic Failings to turn the Biass of them to hi own private Ends and Interests. And ac cordingly, as under the Head of the natural Theology we had occasion, you may remember, to observe the Course of Super fition in that Channel, advancing gradual from popular Weakness into Philosophi System; so here again we shall observe parallel Gradation in the Progress of He roic-Worship: in which, as will be shewn what began in the Simplicity of a few artless funeral Ceremonies, and more ob vious Tokens of Concern for the Lois of late departed Benefactor, was in a Succel fion of Time and Politics wrought up int all the gainful Intricacies, and elaborate Horrors, of a periodical, and more folenne Religious

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Religious, Mystery. And here, Philemon, we may in paffing take notice of the very ifferent Turns of Error in the same Subect. By one Set of Men, whatever was mis in Religious Paganism, the Priestbood n those Days is immediately charged with being the Authors of it. Whilst by those of another Stamp the Priestbood is made to have no share in these Corruptions, but the whole blame is full as unjustly placed the account of Philosophy. And, for far we should be too free with Reason in Subjects of Religion, we are told, that from this fole Principle sprang all the Absurdities of a religious kind that ever prevailed in Antiquity. They had their Birth in the Refinements of conceited Rationalists; were the Product of pretended Speculation and Philosophic Inquiries into the Nature of Things; and arole from a certain Infidel Humor, as prevalent in antient as modern Times, of opposing Science to Faith, and Reasoning to Tradition\*. It was a great Ge-

If we examine, we shall see, that from the Beginning to the present Times, it has always been a vain Philosophy, and an Affectation of Science falsely so colled, that has corrupted Religion. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 318. Compare with this, Con. Vol. II. p. 290, 291. They (Men of the first Parts) fell into these Errors, not by paying too great a Defeatince to Tradition, and pretended Revelation, but even by attempting to set up what they thought a reasonable Scheme of Religion, distinct from, or in opposition to, what Tradition had handed down to them. Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 305. See also p. 306.

mius and Aftronomer amongst the Egyptian ris faid, "thinking to speculate, and hap pening to think wrong," who first seduce his Countrymen into the Infatuation of Sa. blifm. And in consequence of his Astro. nomic Science taught them that Worthin upon Principles of Art, which they were I should think, fully qualified to learn, with out his Instructions, from the Simplicity of Rude Nature \*. And the same fruits Source of Error and Misbelief, pursue yet farther in After-Ages, gave rife, is maintained, to all the subsequent Ar ticles of their increasing Polytheism +. In order to make out which Hypothesis, Philemon, Systems of Philosophic Refinemen even of the lowest Date in Pagan Antiquity shall be made the Ground-work of Idola tries of the highest. Salvos and Apologic for establish'd Errors shall be considered a the original Causes and Reasons of the Establishment. Palliating and Accommo dation be strain'd into Proofs of strict Philo fophic Sentiment. Tolerating interpreted to mean the same thing with Instituting

Their great and learned Men erred not so want of Free-thinking, such as they called so; bu their Opinions were in direct opposition to the true Revelations which had been made to the World and might be called the Deism of those Ages. Shuck vol. II. p. 460.

\* See Shuck Con. vol. I. p. 318. † See Shuck Con. vol. II. p. 278-9, and following ones. was the Reason, t dance of I forer was when he Neglect, in this ac of God, F overy of and Syfte nor Phil thors of were the ness and 1 not do giving M it was, t oppose th by hand affords u \* See S

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Till, as if there was nothing of Policy in the Case, but all was genuine Mistake and Delufion, it shall at last be afferted, " that "there never was any thing fo extravagant or ridiculous in Religion, but Men of the first Parts, and eminent for their " natural Strength of Understanding; when left wholly to themselves, have " been deceiv'd to imbrace and defend it "." Such merely fplendid Weakness, it seems, was the most improved State of natural Reason, unaffifted by the additional Guidance of Revelation. And fo uncandid a Cenforer was the great Apostle of these Gentiles; when he reproached them with a Criminal Neglect, or Suppression of that which was. in this account, not to be known by them of God, previously to any supernatural Difovery of him+. But in Truth, Philemon; and Systems apart, neither Priests, I believe, nor Philosophers, were properly the Authors of the Pagan Superstitions. were the genuine Offspring of popular Rudeness and Ignorance. And if Philosophy did not do all it might have done towards giving Men juster Apprehensions of things, it was, because it either wanted Courage to oppose the Cheat, or was often administer'd by hands too deeply interested in it; and affords us, I am afraid, a much more justifiable

<sup>\*</sup> See Shuck. Con. vol. II. from p. 278, to 307. † See Rom. i. v. 19.

fiable Presumption of Cowardice, or Coraruption in the Hearts of its Professors, than of any Want of competent Information in their Understandings.

IF Accommodations (I interrupted) Hora tensius, to popular Prejudices are any Proofs of being one felf in the common Delution, even the Light of Revelation has been of no very eminent Advantage in point of Religious Instruction to a great part of the more know. ing Christian World. For are not Christians at this day, in a certain Communion I could name, tolerated in Superstitions, which might have almost contested the Preeminence of Absurdity with the grossest Pagan ones? To fay here that many things are not suffered to pass with the Multitude, of which the Learned evidently perceive the Ridicule, is making a Compliment to their Sincerity, at a much greater Difgrace to their Penetration, than they themselves would generally, I believe, be thankful for. And thus without doubt stood the Fact in Philosophic Antiquity. For the Nature of Mankind, and Reasons of Policy, have been always, I suppose, pretty nearly the same. Seriously a Man must read the Writings of the antient Theistic Philosophers (and such only can this Question concern) with a very perverse Comment, who does not see, that they knew much better, than they sometimes

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imes found it prudent to teach; and were very way qualified to have given the World a competently rational Theory of Religion, if they had not found them already in possession of a traditionary one of very different Genius; and from the Danger of unsettling Establishments, and letting Light upon weak Eyes, been led to turn their Thoughts rather to the palliating, than the Reforming Side in this Affair. indeed were not the most undoubted Patrons of Revelation fo fond of this Hypothelis, Hortenfius, one would wonder what possible Advantage to their Cause they could propose from it. To me it seems to be not more undermining the Principles and Foundation of natural Religion, than it is thereby taking away the only fure Test and Criterion of the Merit of Revealed. For if Men have no previous natural Notices of Supreme Being by which to judge of what may, or may not, be supposed to come from him in a way of more extraordinary Communication, the Credit of all pretended Revelations is manifestly put upon the same footing. Every thing is to be received as Revelation, which a confident Enthusiast or Impostor may call such: or rather the very Supposition itself of any such thing is render'd abfurd and ridiculous.

" IT would carry us (returned he) to much out of our way at present, Philema to enter into a more particular Censure this Hypothesis. Its Aim doubtless is inhance the Value of Revelation, by evin cing the absolute Necessity of it. But, be fides that Men should be cautious how the compliment Revelation into this suppose Necessity at the Expence of its own pro per Evidences; the Term Necessity here I think, too ftrong an one. Expediency all that is wanted in the Cafe, and all the either Reason, or indeed Fact, Seems justify the Affertion of For look into the Subject Matter of the Revelation contende for, and you will find, that the greate part of what are properly new Different in it are rather Inforcements of natural R ligion, than Additions to it. For the rel it teaches little more than what had be taught before. But then it has the A vantage of teaching it with an Author peculiar to itself; and in a manner so me more futable to the Ends of popular la provement, as to give it an undifputed & periority to every buman Method of Infin ction. But this, as I faid, is a matter b yond our present Compasson Not need w indeed entertain for raised an Idea of Pa losophic Antiquity, as is there contended to to fatisfy ourselves, that the particular E ror in Religious Paganism we are now con fiderin

dering, th es, was n had in tr it at its at the fi ercifing it is end, co hilosophic eriods. 1 odiscipline ount of th ny Stratag phy of th ave remo udity; ar ruck with Establish ould accom om the I is kind, potheofis ring Voic real and a

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tering, the Worthip of the antient Hewas not instituted from that Quarter. had in truth fo very little of Philosophy it at its first Appearance in the World. at the fubtile Industry of Mythologists, ercifing itself probably for Ages together to is end, could with Difficulty form it to a' hilosophic Air and Aspect even in its latest riods. No, Philemon; the Workings of ndisciplined Nature are a much better Acount of the Origin of Hero-Worship, than y Stratagems of Art or Politics. Philophy of the humblest kind could not but ave remonstrated to such a palpable Abudity; and must have been too sensibly mck with its Confutation, to have projected Establishment. The most that Policy ould accomplish in the Case was, as appears om the History of later Deifications of is kind, to extort a formal Testimony of potheosis from the constrained and flatring Voices of the People, not to procure ral and affectionate Adoration from their Harts\*. And to compliment its Heroes into

Jamque omnibus præparatis, Ratus (Alexander) and olim prava mente conceperat, tunc esse matum, quoham modo cœlestes honores usurparet cœpit gitare. Jovis filium non tantum dici se, sed etiam redi volebat. Tanquam perinde animis imperate osse, ac Linguis. Itaque more Persarum Macedonas merabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora justit. Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa dulatio, perpetuum Malum Regum, quorum opes epius assentatio quam Hostis evertit. Quint. Curt. lib. VIII. cap. 17.

obtaining for them either the hearty Police of it. These had been long appropriate to those Heroes of remoter Antiquity, while lived in happier Times for an Advancement of this nature \*. For that their Advancement of this nature \*.

χραιου, ειτα περομιμα και αγαζοιειαι πετα αρεγ προτου, ειτα περομια και πρωπικ κρατοπια με προτου ο Πγαται κεραν με λυε κρατοπια ε προτου ο Πγαται κεραν την λυν κρατοπια ε προτου ο Πγαται κεραν την περαν και αλουα ων προτου ο Πγαται και πρωπικ και αλουα ε προτου ο Πγαται αναστημε και αλουα ε προτου ο Πγαται αναστημε και αλουα ε προτου ο Πγαται αναστημε και αγαζοιειαι πετα αρεγ προτου, ειτα περομια και αγαζοιειαι και αναστημε το προτου ε προτου ε προτου το προτου ε προτου το προτου ε προτου

ας, και σαρανομιας, σροσοφλόντες.

Devicopal xanvoio dixnut apsentes anen au xain ώστερ αγωγιμοι δραπεται, των ιερων και τω Β μων αποσπασθεντές, ουδέν αλλ' η τά μνηματά : τους ταφους εχουσίν. Plutarch. de Ifide & O ride; pag. 360. We have a remarkable Examp of this in the Instance of Semiramis recorded in L cian's Treatise of the Syrian Goddess. En aport του νεω Σεμιραμιος ξοανον εστηκε, εν δεξιη του νησι πιδειχυυουσης ανεστη δε δι αιτιην τοιηνδε ανθούπ σι, οχοσοι Συριην οικεουσι, νόμου εποιεετο εωυτή οκως θεον ιλασκέσθαι, θεων δέ των αλλων, και της Ήρας αλογεείν και ωδέ εποιεον μετα δεξ ως θεοθεν αφικοντο νουσοι τε, και συμφορη, και αλγι разине рег ехенте атетансато, как этити вып ομολογες, και τοισι υπηκοοισι αυθις εκελευεν ες Η TRETET Sat Touvexa on et toinde avectine, toit איצעינסשבעיסוסו דחש ואפחי ואמסתבס שמו לוומיניסיס, שבטי סטא בששדחים מאא באבודחי ס מסאסץ בסטסמני בעוכו

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nent was indeed the immediate Recomence after Death of their well-timed Laors and Services to their Contemporaries the Course of their Lives is with me, must confess, a matter beyond all reasonble Doubt or Contradiction, Nor can I ver bring myself to subscribe to their Hyothesis, who contend, that the first Hero Gods of the Egyptians, (the great Leaders, you know, in Theologic Paganism) were not deified upon their Decease by the warm Gratitude of their furviving Countrymen; but by the Artifice of intriguing Statesmen many Centuries afterwards \*.

This is furely (faid I) a very unnatural way of thinking, to place the Recompence of their Benefactions in an Age to much below the Date of them. When the very Memory of what they had performed must

de Syr. Dea, p. 1072-3. Lyssppus spoke the Sense of many People as well as his own, when he protelled to despise Alexander as a God, though he hopored him as a Man. Ευ δε και Λυσιππος ο πλατης Απελλην εμεμψατο του ζωγραφου, ότι την Αλεξανδρου γραφων εικονα, κεραυνον ενεχειρισεν αυτος λε λοίχην, τις την δοξαν ουδε εις αφαιρησεται χρονος, ada Sivav xai idian ouran. Plut. ub. fup. p. 360.

\* In time they (the Egyptians) looked over the Catalogue of their Ancestors, and appointed a Worhip for fuch as had been more eminently famous in their Generations. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 336. the fame Thought is purfued and explained more at

large in vol. II. from p. 281, to 292.

have been in a great measure extinguished or retained only in such a confused an general way, as to be but a weak Foundation for that Personal Regard and Grantude, without which, Politicians would scare have been able to have procured them such high Marks of Honor and Distinction Besides that, had their particular Service been ever so well remembered, still it should be considered, that Life had now been long improving; and the superior Skill and Resident Degree eclipsed the Merit of the weaker Obligations.

To what different Conclusions, I canno help remarking here (returned Hortenfin will the very same Principles lead Men, a cording to the different Views they have i applying them? Time, Philemon, which you esteem so much an Enemy to our He roes Glory, is in the Construction of the Hypothesis made to have been the chie Friend to it. And instead of erasing, you feem to apprehend, their Memory becomes the immediate Instrument of the Apotheofis. For whilst indeed it pre ferved but little of their true Character, infinitely over-paid their Loss in the supe rior Advantages it gave them of an imag nary Reputation. Improving the want authentic Records of real Benefactions int a pomportating at from Fact from Eart we are to at this A decease of such side a have A Divine a rable D but by

\* See Shu + See as opon this C Teffimony poresented, nder. Up " any of th " instead o Story was It had not nit to raise fabulous ] Condition t wreb is intro Gods of the anceiving but more the Towa, x Jewn esvas vi ששו ענים tis afterwar E, EPPWILEVE

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a pompous Register of fabulous ones; and mising at once the Credit of their Services from Fact to Fiction, and of themselves from Earth to Heaven \*. For thus only, we are told, could they ever have arrived at this Advancement: "The Fame of deceased Persons" being, it seems, a Plant of such slow Improvement, that it "must have Ages to grow up to Heaven: And Divine Honors being not with any tole
"rable Decency to be given to them, but but by a late Posterity +."

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\* See Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 286. †See as before, p. 287. The Learned Writer non this Occasion supports his Hypothesis by the Testimony of Plutarch in the several Cases, as above mresented, of Semiramis, Sesostris, Cyrus, and Alexnder. Upon which he observes, " that whenever any of these Persons affected Divinity, they sunk instead of raising their Character by it; their Story was too modern to permit them to be Gods," It had not enough of Extravagancy and Romance it to raise them to the Dignity of the Apotheosis; fabulous Fame being supposed here a necessary Condition to a divine one. And accordingly Pluand is introduced contending that the feveral Hero Gods of the Egyptians were Genii, and not Men, as unceiving them to have been of a Power and Name more than Mortal. Βελτιου ουν οι τα ωερι του Τφωνα, και Οσιριν, και Ισιν, ιστορουμενα, μητε του ειναι νομιζοντες, μητε ανθρωπων, αλλα Δαιμεν μεγαλων ειναι νομιζοντες. Concerning whom tis afterwards observed, that they were esteemed to κ, ερρωμενεστερους ανθρωπων, το δε Θειον ουκ αμιγες ι ακρατου εχουτας, αλλα και ψυχης Φυσεως και σω-

MATO

A SIMILE (faid I) Hortenfus, is, you know, with many People a much mon

שמדסק מום לחספים בשונות אות מושב הלמשוני לוציים במדים במדי Tropou, xas ora Taurais Yivopieva Tais METAGONA שמשח דסטי עבי שמאאסי, דסטי ל חדום בהנדמףמדונה Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 360. But whoever tike in the Context in this Place, and attends to the ful Scope and Purport of Platerch's Reasoning here, wil find, that the true Motive to his making Demonso middle Natures of the Egyptian Heroes was not the being represented to have acted above the ordinar Powers of Men, but below all rational Conception of Gods-Es Taura weps The manaplac nas applan דיסט סטקבשה, אמש' אי שמאוסדם שסבודמו דם שנוסי, αληθως πραχθεντα και συμπεσοντα δοξαζουσι κ λεγουσι, αποπίνσαι δεί και καθηρασθαι το στομα xat Aloxuna, Plut. ubi fup. p. 358. This wasth Difficulty on one Side of the Quettion. And on the other, to go into the Scheme of Eubemerus the Me Series, and reduce the whole System of Hero-Go to certain mere common Men of the first Ages, after they had been long in possession of a much high Character; this, it was thought, was making too in with established Opinions, and, as most Men we apt to confound their own educational Prejudio about Religion with Religion itself, might be oper ing a Door to Atheism-Oxuw de un routo n Ta KINNTO KIVELY, XOL WOREHELD OU TO XCOUN WORK κατα Σιμωνισην, μονου, ωολλοις δε ανθρωπών εθν και γενεσι κατοχοις υπό της ωρος τους θεους τουτο ο σιοτητος, ουδεν απολιποντας του εξ ουρανού μεταθ פנוט באנו אוט סטסעמדם דחלנאמטדם, אמו דונוחד אמו στιν ολιγου δείν άπασιν εκ ωρωτης γενεσεως ενδιδυκοι εξισταναι και αναλευειν, μεγαλάς μεν τω αθεω Λ κλησιαδας ανοιγεντας, και εξανθρωπιζοντί τα θε The Medium therefore approved by our Philosoph upon this Occasion was, as we say, that of consid dispatchfi dry Piece to purfue could we and Seafo are speak Growth we not World as of what table? 't vation th ions; a much ac necessary under th mised to i an humb with your is the mo nother. Argumen

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dipatchful Method of Conviction, than a dry Piece of Reasoning. And yet, methinks. to purine a little the Comparison before us, wild we but happily find out a proper Soil and Season for the Purpose, the Plant we are speaking of might have a much quicker Growth than is here supposed. For, may we not confider Fame in the intelligent World as in some respects of the Nature of what are called Annuals in the vegeable? 'tis not perhaps a common Cultiration that will produce it. Happier Seafons, a more improved Receptacle, and much additional Power of Sunshine are necessary to its successful Propagation. under these Advantages it is much sooner miled to its Perfection than many a Plant of in humbler Species. And thus, Hortenfius, with your leave, I would answer, as I think is the most suitable way, one Simile with mother. For the more serious Part of the Argument, the greater Decency here ascribed to a late Deification; that, I must own, feems

ing the several Divinities of the Heroic Class as so many middle Natures between Gods and Men. Βλτιου ουυ κτλ. See Plutarch de Iside, &c. p. 359, 360. The Embarass which the wiser Antients were under as to this Matter is thus excellently represented by our Author in the Sequel of this Treatise—

Πως συυ χρηστεου εστι ταις σκυθρωποις, και αγελαποις, και ωτενθιμοις θυσιαις, ει μητε ωαραλιπείν το υνομισμένα καλως εχει, μητε Φυρειν τας ωερι θείω δοξας και συνταρατίειν υποιθίαις ατοποις; De Iside, p. 378.

feems to me to lie wholly on the fide of early one. For furely they who lived under the actual Sense and Feeling of our Heros Benefactions had a much better Apology to offer for the Worship of them, than such as were fituated in Life equally below the Reach, and the Memory, of the first He roic Labors. And who therefore to the Guilt of authorifing, as is here supposed the Practice of the human Apotheofis must have added the Aggravation of trusting altogether to fabulous Tradition, and the doubtful Reports of common Fame, for the very Reasons of it.

WE will then proceed (refumed Hortenfius) upon this Point as sufficiently confirmed to us both from Reason and History; that the proper Institution of Heroic-Worship was the Work of remoter Antiquity. For theparticular Modification, and Conduct of this kind of Worship, we must have recourse to the Egyptian Formularies. Historians are, I think, univerfally agreed, that " the

" Egyptians were the first of Mankind who

" were known to have been acquainted " both with the Names and Histories of the

" chief Hero-Gods of Paganism \*." indeed idering th were then nally refid Cities to 1 and Name of their Presence of which to Divini been the vine Wo the earlie the Pract and Soler to have dical Ob: plendid of the Pa Lucian de τα ουοματι Έλλαδα. \* Ths עמד עמוסע YOUW DEW Απολλωνος

> Diod. Sic. + Παν

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Πρωτοι μεν ων ανθρωπων, των ημεις ιδμεν, Αιγυπίτοι λεγονται θεων τε εννοιην λαβειν'-Πρωτοι de και ουοματα ίρα εγνωσαν, και λογους ίρους ελεξαν

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ndeed they might very naturally be, conidering that the original Subjects of them were themselves Egyptians; had been persoally refident in Egypt; and, in the feveral Cities to which they had given both Being and Names, left many standing Monuments f their once more immediate Power and Presence in this Country \*. In consequence of which so near and national a Relation to Divinity, the Egyptians are faid to have been the Original Authors of a public Divine Worship: To have instituted from the earliest Memory amongst themselves the Practice of stated Meetings, Processions, and Solemnities of a Religious kind; and to have given the Example of fuch periodical Observances, and more pompous and fplendid Superstitions, to most other Parts of the Pagan World +. To them there-

Lucian de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057. Σχεδου δε και ωαυτα τα ουρματα των θεων εξ Αιγυπίου εληλυθε ες την Έλλαδα. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 50. Ed. Steph.

\* Της πασης οικουμενης (Φασιν Αιγυπίοι) κατα μοπην την Αιγυπίου ειναι πολεις πολλας υπο των αρχαιων θεων εκτισμενας, οιον Διος, Ήλιου, Έρμου, Απολλωνος, Πανος, Ειλειθυιας, αλλων πλειονων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12.

† Πανηγυριας δε αρα και σομπας και σροσκγωγες σρωτοι ανθρωπων Αιγυπίοι εισι δι σοιησαμενοι·
και σαρα τουτων Έλληνες μεμαθηκασι· Herod. Lib.
2. cap. 42. Πρωτοι μεν ων ανθρωπων, των ήμεις
ιδμεν, Αιγυπτιοι λεγονται και ίρα εισασθαι, και τεμενεα, και σανηγυριας αποδεξαι· Lucian. de Syr.
Deâ, p. 1057.

fore let us here apply ourselves, Philems and from a careful Attention to what the are reported to have practifed in the Wo Thip of their two principal Hero-Deitie Ofiris, and Ifis, form a kind of Theor or general Idea in our Minds of the Qu lity of Hero-Worship at large. For white Antiquity gives us, I may observe, a fa ficient Warrant, when it informs us, as own Judgment in the Case, that some the most celebrated Instances of Here Superstition in different Ages, and Countrie were but the adopted Rites of the two D vinities just mentioned \*: An Eviden this, in the lowest Construction of it, th they were at least the same in kind, if n strictly such in Substance. All of then (what, I believe, we might venture to a fert of every Instance of Heroic-Worth without referve) founded in the same gene ral Reasons and Principles, and partaking upon the whole of one common Purpol Defign, and Sentiment. The Charact which Antiquity has preferved to us of the Egyptian Ofiris and Isis is, that they we

very ear those Rei whlic Ber heir King what is pi heir Case enevolent he Head Pime of many use tions of I immediate nation of the neigh **Settlemen** wanted, o pretend nology of or to ente of which the ablest perhaps i may be a tothat in Forfuch

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<sup>\*</sup> Την μεν γαρ Οσιριδος τελετήν τη Διουσσου τ αυτην ειναι, την δε της Ισιδος της Δημητρος όμοιστα την ύπαρχειν, των ονοματων μονου ενηλλαγμενο Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 86. Εισι δε ενιοι Βυθλιων, λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι του Οσιριν του Αιγυπ τιου και τα πενθεα, και τα οργια, ουκ ες Αδωνι αλλ' ες Οσιριν παντα πρησσεσθαι. Lucian. de Syl Deâ, p. 1058.

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very early King and Queen of Egypt, those Reign was one continued Series of ublic Benefactions, and Services both to heir Kingdom, and Neighbourhood \*. Or, what is probably the more literal Truth of heir Case, they were two very active, enevolent, and public-spirited Persons at he Head of a Colony in Egypt, at the Time of its first Peopling; who taught many useful Inventions and Accommodaions of Life, as well to those who were immediate Sharers with them in the Occupation of their new Territory, as to fuch of the neighboring Clans, and alike recent lettlements round about them, as either wanted, or would partake of their Affistance. I pretend not to adjust the precise Chronology of our Egyptian Heroes, Philemon; or to enter into a Question, the Intricacies of which have long baffled the Industry of theablest Inquirers to determine: and which perhaps is best determined after all, if one may be allowed to speak so, by being left total impenetrable Obscurity it is found in. For fuch furely must be thought its Case, when the Times and Characters of the two celebrated Persons we are speaking of have been

\* Ταυτην δε λεγουσι (την Ισιν) γημαντα του Οτιςιν, και την Βασιλειαν διαδεξαμενον ωολλα ωραξαι ωρος ευεργεσιαν του κοινου βιου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 13. as confidently, as feverally, contested to fall in with all those of Ham\*, Mifraim+, Efaut,

\* See Marsham's Chron. Can. p. 30. 31.

+ See Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 205, and following

† See Reflexions Critiques fur les Histoires des anciens Peuples par Mr. Fourmont, Vol. I. Liv. 2. chap. 13. Je dis donc, et je foutiens ce que toute la terre a ignorée, qu'il n'y a jamais en d'autre Osiris, qu' Esau, Fils de Sadid, c'est à dire de ARK. ou d'Isaac. p. 104. La Montagne de Seir, ou il sit fa demeure particuliere lui donna le nom de Hoscheiri ou Osiri, l'habitant, c'est à dire le Prince de Seir, p. 107. This Author is a great Clearer of Difficulties in the Chronology of the Heroic Ages. He has an Art of reducing almost all the Hero Gods of the Pagan World to the Family of Abraham. He is fo fond of this Hypothesis, that he knows not how sufficiently to applaud himself for the Invention of it. On trouve bien, says he, que Jupiter est fils de Kronos, que Kronos étoit fils d'Ouranos, et celui ci fils d'Acmon. Mais, une chose etonnante, jamais aucun Mythologiste a-t-il ofé dire qu'il favoit la Cause de ces denominations? Je dis moi que les voici decouvertes, et Tharé a eu plusieurs de plus Historiquement. noms; entre autre celui de Tharé, celui d'Azar, &c. Son nom patronimique est Oupavos, Ouranos; c'est en Syrien Ourano, Ourien, ou l'homme de Our. Rien de plus sensé, il y habitoit. Reflex. Crit. p. 63. Kronos, mot que les Latins ont traduit par Saturnus, en Chaldeen et en Syrien ne fignifie-t-il pas encore l'homme de Charan, ou le Charanien? et ce Charanien est il autre qu' Abraham? Voila donc encore l'origine, & l'origine indubitable du nom de Kronos. Reflex. p. 64. Les Interpretes conviennent presque tous que c'est le veritable nom de Sara, (Iskah.) ce nom est il bien eloigné de celui d'Isis? p. 88. Lossque Abraham eut voulu sacrifier son fils, l'histoire scue dans toute la contrée le fit appeller Sadid, en

sefoftris modern is as any of themselve roic Divireal histor Gives the substantia ruptions, Language from on of merel

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Arabe & Sadid? oü pour l'Hift qu'ici on vivre. Ma les anciens Et ce A EUS marque mé Grece figi ctoit desce ceindre, e Jour, que ons Crit. in much tl Ceres, Ketz bam by Ket Beersheba-Perlephone le pais de p. 82, 83. city of our \* See Sin

elfewhere.

Selostris \*. Whilst an Hypothesis more modern than all of these, and full as sanguine as any of them, denies both our Heroes themselves, and the whole Family of Heroic Divinities from them, to have had any real historical Age, or even Existence at all. Gives them neither a higher, nor a more substantial Pedigree, than the mere Corneptions, and Mistakes of the Hieroglyphic Language of Antiquity. Degrades them from once living and human, into a Set of merely ideal and sigurative Personages. Makes them the Characters not of Men, but Things:

Arabe & en Phenicien ligatus. Mais Zeus est il Sadid? oüi: & ceci même devient un denouement pour l'Histoire du Monde la plus Embarassante. Jusqu'ici on a tiré Zeus de Zew brouillir, ou de Zww vivre. Mais enfin il restoit un scrupule; Pour Zeug les anciens disoient aussi, Edeus, ou même Asus, Et ce Δευς pouvoit venir également de δεω ligo. Une marque même que ζεω dans les premiers tems de la Grece signifioit lier, c'est que de ce verbe inusité toit descendu le diminutif ζωω, d'ou ζωνη ζωννυω ceindre, en Latin Zona. Il est donc clair comme le Jur, que deus a signifié ligatus, constrictus. Reflexions Crit. Vol. I. p. 96. The fame Author proves in much the same manner that Typhon is Jacob, and lives, Keturah, and Proferpine, a Daughter of Abraham by Keturah, fo called because her Mother was of Beersheba—la Bersebonienne ou la Persephonienne— Persephone ou Proserpine est une semme prise dans le pais de Berfabée. Quoi de plus admirable! 1. 82, 83. Nothing, we see, can exceed the Sagaaty of our Etymologist, except his Confidence.

\* See Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. p. 192, 193, and

elsewhere.

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Saturnus,

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Things: Expressions only either of the Course of Time, and of certain annual Occurrences and Ceremonies amongst the Egyptians; of the Order of public Festivals and religious Solemnities; of the Regulation of civil Policy; or the mere Course of human Labour and Industry in the Accommodation of common Life \*.

\* Toute la Société ayant un besoin extrême de regler l'ordre de ses jours, & de convenir des tem où il faut s'affembler, se reposer, ou travailler en commun, l'ecriture Symbolique fut tout particulière. ment utile à cet égard, par la commodité de quel ques marques qui étant exposées en public, annoncoient les Fêtes & les Travaux d'une façon simple & uniforme. Histoire du Ciel. Tom. I. p. 60. 01 nommoit le soleil Osiris. Ce mot signifioit l'inspecteur, le Cocher ou le Conducteur, le Roi, l Guide, le Moderateur des aftres, l'Ame du Monde, Gouverneur de la Nature. Et c'est parce qu'on donnoit ce nom & cette Fonction au Soleil, qu'or exprima par la Figure d'un homme portant un Sceptre, p. 61, 62. & suiv. Ce Gouverneur puremen Figuratif a été pris pour un homme qui avoit vécu fur la terre, & est pris pour un Dieu dans l'ecriture qui reste sur les Monumens, p. 63. Quand on voulut signifier la terre qui enfante & nourit toute chose on choisit l'autre Sexe. La Femme qui est mere à nourice étoit une image naturelle de la terre. Celle ci fut donc peinte avec ses Productions sous la forme d'Isha, ou d'Isis. Ce Symbole étoit commode, parc que les changemens de la Nature, & les diverses productions de la terre, qui etoient sans doute le suje des communes Actions de Graces, pouvoient aile ment être exprimées par les divers Ornemens qu'or donnoit a cette femme, p. 68, & suiv. Les Egyp tiens désignoient le Travail par la Figure d'un Enfant qu' Ofiris & Isis affectionnent, d'un fils bien-aim I RE
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IREMEMBER (said I) to have heard something of such an Hypothesis as you describe being lately published to the World by a French Author; which, with Allowance for that straining Humor which is inseparable from System, is not, I am told, ill defended. But pray what is the Foundation of this Scheme? for the Author, I suppose, would not oppose his single Judgment to the unanimous Sense of Mankind in this Affair, without some cogent Reasons for doing so. Let me hear what is his No-strum.

qu'ils se plaisent à combler de biens. Ensuite par les differentes formes qu'ils faisoient prendre à cet enfant, ils exprimoient ingénieusement la Conduite, les operations succeffives, les traverses, & les Succès du labourage. Hift. du Ciel. p. 75. & suiv.—La paix & la police parmi les citoiens apres les recoltes, & dans la joye qu'inspire le repos de l'hyver—voila le vrai sens de. notre Symbol d'Harpocrate. Hift. p. 92. Le Peuple Egyptien prit peu a peu l' Osiris pour ce qu'il presentoit à l'oeil, c'est à dire pour un homme. Ils prirent Isis pour une Femme; & l'Enfant qu'elle nourit pour un Enfant, pour le fils d'Osiris & d'Isis. -Prenant donc ces Figures au pié de la lettre, ils les regardérent comme des Monumens de leur Histoire Nationale. Hift. du Ciel. p. 133, 134. Après avoir trouvé dans l'abus des Figures symboliques prises pour des Objets reels, l'origine des habitans que l' Egypte a imaginés & placés dans le ciel, s'il se trouve encore que les Dieux des autres Nations, & les autres superflitions dont nous n'avons point parlé, soient une propagation fenfible des Idées & des pratiques Egyptiennes, la Facilité de rappeller tant d'égaremens à un principe fort simple, fera voir de nouveau la justesse du principe, quoique des a present il paroisse suffisamment démontré. Hist. p. 146.

ftrum, Hortensius, and upon what Principles does he erect his very new Explication of Theologic Antiquity?

Upon a Piece of false and exploded Philosophy (replied he) in the first Place, Philemon \*; then a Series of his own Visions; and lastly a forced Testimony of several tortured Facts. But the whole, I should confess to you, supported by a copious Set of Eastern Etymologies, corresponding so exactly to his Purpose +, that one should hardly know how to withstand such a Weight of Evidence, were not the Nature of it a little suspicious, as having been sometimes known to prove equally on both sides of a Question ‡. But notwithstanding all I have been saying, Philemon, if you would consider this Author's Perfor-

\* On a un assez bon nombre de preuves qui tendent a faire voir, que la raison naturelle pour laquelle la vie des hommes d'avant le Deluge etoit beaucoup plus longue que la nôtre, venoit de caque le soleil ne quittant point alors l'Equateur, c'étoit une suite nécessaire que la température d'air sût uniforme, & la secondité de la terre non-interrompue. Hist. p. 10.

+ See Histoire du Ciel at large.

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<sup>†</sup> Compare this Author's Derivation of the Name Ofiris, from Ochosi-erets Dominium Terræ, with Monsieur Fourmont's as above from Hoscheiri, l'habitant de Seir. Both different from the learned Vossus's, from Schicher, or Sier, one of the Scripture Appellations of the River Nile. See Voss. & Prog. Idol. Vol. I. p. 692.

<sup>\*</sup> Acts x

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mance as, what it in strict Truth is, a mere ideal Amusement, or more learned kind of Romance, the Perusal of it, I believe, would not be unentertaining to you at some Leisure Hour. The Scheme is prettily enough fancied, and the Execution of it is conducted with a good deal of Art and Ingenuity. No yearn again of do saw nov in the leveral Cines called after th

So much the worse, (faid I) Hortenfius, in my Opinion. Art and Ingenuity, tho' they are no where perhaps better shewn, than in the Support of Paradoxes, are yet certainly most unpardonably misemployed, when they are exercised to such a purpose. One would wish every Author to be a dull one. whom one finds ingaged in a false Cause; fince going ingeniously wrong is too feldom found to be going fingly fo. But what, in the Name of Wonder, could tempt our Author, Hortensius, upon no better Grounds than you have represented, thus to fet himself torefine away one of the feemingly plainest, and most strongly attested Facts in Antiquity? Surely a Man must have an uncommon Love of Paradox, to Suppose the Pagan Altars were thus univerfally erected to unknown Gods \*. Or, that the Egyptians in particular could fo far lose the Meaning of a Language of their own composing, and which always continued to be in some G degree Lucian, Imag. p. 131.

<sup>\*</sup> Acts xvii. 23.

degree of Use amongst them, as to mistake a Set of Hieroglyphical Representations, for so many proper historic Characters. A System of Emblems, Creatures altogether of their own Imaginations, for a Genealogy of Heroes; of whom they had both circumstantial Records, and also, as you was observing, many visible Memorials in the several Cities called after their Names in Egypt, that they were all, as an ingenious Writer speaks upon a like Occasion, once fairly existing in this World \*."

THERE is moreover (returned he) this very unfortunate Circumstance for this Centleman's Hypothesis, preserved to us by some of the antient Writers, in the religious History of Egypt; that the Egyptians were wholly Strangers to Images of human Form in the Furniture of their Temples, or Places of Worship +. From whence tis obvious to remark, that it could not be such an Hieroglyphical Oficis and His as is here supposed that gave Birth to the Historical ones.

\* Author of the Inquiry into the Life, &c. of Ha

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† Μετα δε τα προπυλαια ο Νεως ξοανου δεχων 
ουδεν, η ουκ ανθρωπομορφου, αλλα των αλογων ζωων 
τινος: Strab. Geograph. Iib. 17. p. 805. Ed. Calaub. 
Κακει γαρ αυτος μεν ο νεως καλλιστος τε, και με 
γιστος, λιθοις τοις πολυτελεσιν ησκημενος, και χρυσω 
και γραφαις διηνθισμενος ενδου δε ην ζητης του θεον, 
η πιθηκος εστιν, η Ιβις, η τραγος, η αιλουρος 
Lucian. Imag. p. 592. Edit. Bourd.

(43)

But that the Ofiris and Ifis whom the Egyptians worshipped must have been originally two proper bistorical Personages; whom they were used, as will be shewn more at large in its Place, to represent by Animal-Symbols, and not by human Figures. Till, in a Course of Time, Mythology, having invested them with many physical or natural, over and above their bistoric Characters, gave occasion to those Grotesque Representations of them in human Form, which occur so frequently in the Egyptian Monuments; and from whence our Author, I believe, took the Hint of his whole Hieroglyphic System. An Hypothesis, I may inft observe, which he was the readier to espouse, as it flattered his over-great Delicacy in the Problem of the human Apotheolis, by affording him a less gross and offensive Solution of it, than that which is generally received. He could not think of letting Men run directly and all at once into to palpable an Absurdity in their Religion, and was therefore for bringing them about to the same End with somewhat more of Compass and Ceremony. And now, Philemon, having I think, in passing sufficiently established the general Historic Truth of our Heroes Characters, let us proceed, as we had began, with the more remarkable Particulars of them. They are recorded by the Egyptians to have been the first Civilizers

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vilizers of their Country both in a moral and natural Account. They reduced the favage Barbarity of their Times to a Sense of Humanity, Discipline, and public Order. They taught the Practice of Building, Agriculture, and Plantation, with the Preparation and Use of Bread-Corn, Wine, and Medicine, before unknown in Egypt. They made Laws for the Affignment of Property amongst their Countrymen, and for the Restraint of mutual Violence and Injustice, which they took care to have inforced by fuitable Penalties annexed to the Breach of They were the general Promoters, or Incouragers of mechanic Ingenuity, and manual Arts; and of whatever had the Appearance in any Degree of a public Improvement \*. At the fame time their Views

\* Πρωτου μευ γαρ (Φασι του Οσιριυ) παυσαιτη αλληλοφαγίας το των ανθρωπων γενος ευρουσης με Ισιδος του τε του συρου και της κριθης καρπου (Φυομενου μεν, ως ετυχε, κατα την χωραν μετα της αλλης Βοτανης, αγνουμενου δε υπο των ανθρωπων) του δε Οσιειδος επινοησαμενου την τουτων κατεργασιαν των μαρπων Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 13. Ως δε τω Μηνι τουτω τω πρώτω γενομενω Βασιλει χερσον γε-ציטיבטמו דס מאבוס עובטסט דסטדסט עבט בט מטדש אסאני אדוσαι ταυτην, ήτις νυν ΜεμΦις καλεεται. Herod, lib. 2. cap. 99. Κλιται δε Φασι τους wees του Οτιρώ ωολιν εν τη Θηβαιδι τη κατ' Αιγυπίου εκατομπυλου' Τους δε μεταγινεστερους αυτην ονομαζειν Διος σολώ, Pici evious de Onsas. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 14. δ Αιγυπτιοι την Ισιν Φαρμακών τε σολλών σρος υγεια

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CETTO YEYOUEVAS alm exern e מהו אמו שסונים: ι τους ανθρωπ a necent wand n. Ibid. p. I ם, בטפבדאט ל מי ישרושי דסט דמו ου χρησασθαι דו עשובומט ז מד מד לואסאלעם נווד וב b. I. p. 14. α Ισιδί τους τας בן דו דשט אףחם EWT EUPE SENT WIN εσθαιοί ων το MENOUS, PINOT 14. Confer \* Tou d'ouv ( בחב, אמו דאט

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PEIX

iews were not confined to Egypt alone; it whilft Is, with the Assistance of Heres, or Mercury, a Person in great Esteem ith them both, was appointed to preside the Direction of Assairs at home, Osiris, ith a Party of his Friends and Adherents, welled much into foreign Parts; every here, as he passed, circulating useful Arts, and Inventions for the Service of common is; leaving Traces behind him of his Huanity and public Spirit, and introducing a eneral Polish and Civility \*. One would think.

בנוחו עניעסטבטמו, אמו דחק ומדפואחק באוסדחנוחק נבτλη εχειν εμπειοιαν. Ibid. p. 22. OELVAL DE ετι και νομούς την Ισιν, καθ' ους αλληλοις δίδοιτως ανθρωπους το δικαιον, και της αθεσμου Βιας μι ύδρεως ταυσασθαι δια του από της τιμωριας Φο-. Ibid. p. 13. Γενεσθαι δε Φιλογεωργου του Οπο, ευρετην δ' αυτου γενεσθαι της αμπελου, και την γατιαν του ταυτης καρπου προσεπινοησαντα, ωρωτον ου χρησασθαι, και διδαξαι τους αλλους αυθρωσους η τε Φυτειαν της αμπελου, και την χρησιν του οινου, μιτην συλαμισην αυτου και τηρησιν' Diod. Sic. Bib. b. I. p. 14. Προτιμασθαι δε σαρα τω Οσιριδι και εδειδι τους τας τεχνας ανευρισκουτας, η μεθοδευουκτιτων χρησιμων διοπερ εν τη Θηδαιδι, χαλκουρων ευρεθευτων και χρυσειων, οπλα τε καπασκευάμβαιδί ών τα θηρια κθεινουτας, και την γην εργαμοους, Φιλοτιμως εξημερωσαι την χωραν. 14. Confer Plut. de Iside & Osiride p. 356.

του δ'ουν Φασι τα κατα την Αιγυωίου καταστηαπα, και την των όλων ηγεμονιαν Ισιδι τη γυναικι
πραδουτα, ταυτη μεν ωαρακαταστησαι συμξουλού
μΕρμην Ibid. p. 15. Του δε Οσιριν λεγουσιν, ώσ-

think, a Person of this Character should meet with no Enemies. But the Even proved otherwise. For after Ofiris had a verned some time in Egypt to the Satisfa tion of all who wished well to their Country, his Brother Typhon, a Person of an undisciplined and turbulent Spirit, either thro Envy of his Reputation, or upon form private Quarrel to his Person, formed Defign upon his Life; which, through the Help of a Faction he had ingaged to his Purpose, he soon found Opportunity to accomplish \*. The Conduct of the Murder is somewhat differently related by Historians; but in all Accounts it stands attended with many aggravating Circumstances of additional Inhumanity +.

περ ευεργετικου ουτα και Φιλοδοξου στατοπέδου μέγα συστησασθαι, διανοουμένου επελθείν απασαν την οικονμενην, και διδαξαι το γενος των ανθρωπων την τε τη αμπελου Φυτειαν, και του σπορού του τε συρίνου και κοιθινου καρπου υδολαμδανείν γαρ αυτον ότι τουσας της αγριστητος τους αυθρωπους, και διαιτης ημεροι μεταλαβειν σοιησας, τιμων αθανάτων τευξεται δια τ meyedos The EveryEdias. Ibid. p. 15.

Φασι γαρ νομιμως Βασιλευοντα της Αιγυπίου του Οσιριυ ύπο Τυφωνος αναιρεθηναι του αδελφου, Βιαιου και ασεβους ουτος. Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 18.

† Διελοντα (Φασι του ΤυΦανα) το σωμα του Φονενθευτος εις έξ και εικοσι μερη δουναι των συν επιθεμενών έχαστω μεριδά βουλομενου τουλας μετασχειν του μυσοις, και δια τουτο νομιζοντα συ ναγωνιστας έξειν και Φυλα-Ras The Brainers Biriou . Ibid. p. 18. Tou de Origides EXUE-

of of a firis raife gyptians, e guilty mmediate f herfelf, enging h nd, havin ers in her action to Ofris, as t ped the ad Funer ommon V erformed national Celebration public Rev mory ran his Obsequ

σιμετρησαμεν שים דם עבר דניודושק, בוס παρουτωυ) τ τω Τυφωνα μ owsein, didor σιου κατακλ

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of of a Person so valuable to Egypt as firs raised a public Concern amongst the options, with a futable Resentment against e guilty Instruments of his Death. His mediately formed a Party on the behalf herfelf, and her Son Horus, for the reenging her deceased Husband's Murder nd, having greatly the Advantage of Numers in her Caufe, brought Typhon and his raction to their defended Punishment \*2 Offis, as the best Testimony of their Repet the Egytians could now offer him. Funeral Honors decreed him by the ommon Voice of his People; which were erformed with all the Demonstrations of national unfeigned Mourning. In the Celebration whereof, the Transports of public Reverence and Affection to his Memory ran fo high, that the Ceremony of his Obsequies was concluded in that of his

seren eg generator nat meent trenaktioner αμετρησαμενου λαθρα το σωμα, και κατασκευασαντα τος το μεγεθος λαρυακα καλην και κεκοσμημενην דבטודושה, בוסבטבץ אבוט בול דם סטנותססוטי חסלבטדשע לב (דעי ταρουτών) τη οψει και θαυμασαντών, υποσχεσθαε το Τυφωνα μετα ταιδιας, ός αν εγκατακλεισθεις εξισωθειη, διδουαι δωρου αυτω την λαρνακα. εμβαντα Οακίν κατακλιθηναι · Plut. de If. & Od. p. 356.

\* Την δε Ισιν, αδελφην ουσαν Οσηριδος και χνιαικα, μετελθειν του Φονον, συαγωνιζομενου του ταιώς αυτης Ωρου ανελουσαν δε τον Τυφωνα, και τους ευμπραξαυτας, Βασιλευσαι της Αιγυπτου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 18.

Cap. 5. 9. 70.

Apotheosis\*. For from an unwillingued to relinquish all Interest at once in the favourite Hero, added, it may be, to some confused Tradition they had amongst them of a Life after Death, the Egyptians persuaded themselves upon this Occasion, that Oseris might yet have it in his Power (and then they could not doubt its being in his Inclination) to be propitious to his late-loved Country, in some secret way of Communication with it. They accordingly converted as we may say, his Sepulchre into his Altary.

Την δε Ισιν (Φασι) αναζήτεν το σώμας εκτυ. Toy de xias Boddas Tapas Otipidos Eu Aigualu ye νεσθαι, τοί δε ου Φασιν. αγγα ειδώγα ποιουμενώ δρο ναι καθ έκαστην ωολιν, ως το σωμα διδουσαν, όπω waρα ωλειστιν εχη τιμας. Plut. de If. p. 358. Βουλομεύου δε (Φασι την Ισιν) την τανδρος ταθη αδηλου ωριηται και τιμωμενήν ωαρά ωασί τη Αι-שישות של אמדסואפטסו, סטידבאבסמו דם לפצמי דפופטדש זוו τροπω: έκαστω των μερων περιπλασαι αυτην τυποι ανθρωποειδη εξ αρωματων και κηρου. εισκαλεσαμεπι de κατά γενη των ίερεων, εξορκισαι ωαντας μη-שבעו לחלשסבום דחש לם שחסטובישו מטדפוב הוסדוו צמד ιδιαν δε εκαστοις ειπειν ότι μονοίς εκεινοίς παρατιθεναι την του σωματος ταφην και των ευεργετιών υπομυήσασαν, παρακαλεσαι, θαψαντας εν τοις ιδιοις τοποις το σωμα, τιμαν ώς θεον του Οτιριν. Diodor. Sic. p. 18. Εξ ανθρωπων εις θεους μετασταντα το Οσιριν (Φασί) τυχειν ύπο Ισιδος και Έρμου θυσιων και των αλλών των επιΦανεστάτων θεών τιμών. Diod. loc. cit.

Ταφοι μυημουευουται. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 70.

And ha of their for his p Continu in fuch as the ] And as this pur at his T the Seat form th on the Manes ; their M nies, th and Ber their Pa folemn

\* Plus stane, α terment εναγιζειν περισκιαι in adytis luctibus cap. 2.
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And having made him the Offering there of their most affectionate Acknowledgments for his past Services, intreated of him the Continuance of his Favour towards them in fuch future Instances of his Affistance, as the Interests of Egypt might require. And as a farther Ingagement upon him to this purpose, they agreed to meet annually at his Tomb, at each periodical Return of the Season of his Interment; and to perform the like public Lamentations, as upon the present Occasion, to his injured Manes; renewing at the fame time upon their Minds, by certain expressive Ceremonies, the Memory both of his Sufferings and Benefactions; and recognizing him for their Patron or Tutelar Demon by more folemn and explicite Acts of national Worthip \*. Is lived some time after the Deceases or concealed, H.

\* Plutarch informs us, that in the Island Nistitume, one of the Places which laid claim to the Interment of Osiris, Ένι καιρω τους ίερεις διαδαινοντας
εναγιζειν, και καταστεφειν το σημα μηδικης Φυτου
περισκιαζομένου De Is. & Os. p. 359. Ægypti Incolæ
in adytis habent Idolum Osiridis sepultum hoc annuis
luctibus plangunt. Jul. Firmic. de Error. prof. Rel.
cap. 2. Και μυημην του παθεος (Αδωνιδος) τυπίουται τε έκαστου ετεος (οι Βυβλιοι) και θρηνεουσι, και
σφισι μεγαλα πευθεα ανά την χωρην ισταται —
Εισι δε ενιοι Βυβλιων οι λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι του Οτιριν του Αιγυπίου και τα πευθεα
ουκ ες Αδωνιν, άλλ' ες Οσιριν πρησσεσθαι. Lucian.

de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

cease of Ofiris; and, continuing to indu herself all along to the Egyptians by a Series of repeated Kindnesses towards then was upon her Death admitted to a Participation with him in his Divine Honers \*. And from henceforth the annual Celebra. tion of the funeral Rites of these two Doified Heroes became a standing Solemnity of the Egyptian Religion. This was the true Meaning and Origin of that oxulpuwone, as Plutarch very fignificantly terms it, gloomy and difmal Air, which fome of the chief religious Ceremonies of Egypt carried with them +; and of the Egyptians persorming many things in honor of their Gods refembling the common Practices at a Funeral . Of which, when the once proper Humanity of these Divine Persons was thought necessary to be difowned or concealed, the Allegorists of Antiquity were put to so many Shifts and Refinements, to give any paffable Reason and sini Solution,

Τη και διδωσικό καιρος υπουοιαν επι των καρτων τη αποκριμίει κενεσθαι του σκυθρωπασμου Plut de If. & Of. p. 378.

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<sup>\*</sup> Την δε Ισιν Φασι μετα την Οσιριδος τελευτην διατελεσαι του λοιπου του βιου χρονου Βασιλευουσαν τομιμωτατα, και ταις εις τους αρχομενους ευεργεσιαις άπαυτας υπερδαλομενου όμοιως δε και ταυτην μεταστασαν εξ ανθρωπων τυχειν αθανατων τιμων. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 18, 19.

<sup>‡</sup> Πολλα θαπίουσιν όμοια και πενθουσιν επραίτο.
Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 379.

<sup>\*</sup> Ωστ πορωπου υπομυνιμα υπορωπαρα απολαμειν,

Solution, as the Times grew more knowing and sceptical \*.

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Hortenfius, they could frame no Solution fo little defensible, as the true one, of this Matter. In which, by a kind of judicial Infatuation, as one might be almost tempted to suspect in the Case, upon the Institutors of the human Apotheosis, the Divinity of the two Heroes who were the most considerable Subjects of it, stood effectually disproved by the most important Article of their own Worship.

Most evidently (returned he) it did fo. And had the human Apotheosis been the Work of political Art and Contrivance, the Ritual of this Hero-worship would, no doubt, have been more happily constituted. But as it took place first in rude and uninlightened Ages, the Simplicity of those Times deisied its Heroes, just as it found them, with all the Circumstances of their Humanity about them; and had no suspicion of Consequences. But to proceed, Philemon, with the History of our two Deisied Heroes; it being a general Persua fion

<sup>\*</sup> Ωσπερ αμέλει και το δεικυυμεθου αυτοις ειδωλιν δυθρωπου τέθνηκοτος εν κιδωτιω περιΦερομενου ουπ εστιν υπομυημα του περι Οσιριδος παθους, αλλ' οιομενυς παρακαλειν αυτους χρησθαι τοις παρουσιν και απολαμειν, ως παντας αυτικα μαλα τοιουτους εσου μεισυς. Plut, de II. & OI. p. 357.

fion in Egypt, as has been observed, that they had yet somewhere a more substantial Being, than in the Breasts of their Survivers, Curiosity naturally put the Egyptians, fond of dwelling as much as possible upon a favourite Subject, upon conjecturing where. And the Result of this Speculation was, to assign them their Residence in the two greater Lights of Heaven; these being, not only in themselves the noblest Scenes of Action they could imagine for them, but likewise, as might be thought, the most suitable ones at the same time to their distinct personal Characters \*.

This was rather a piece of Compliment, (faid I) I should think, at first, tho afterwards it might by degrees grow up into serious Belief. It was a natural Topic of Panegyric, to say of Osiris and Iss, that they had been, as it were, another Sun and Moon to Egypt; had held forth in their Conduct a kind of reslex Image of the beneficent Virtues of those divine Luminaries. I am sensible Comparisons of this Nature will not relish in our modern Days as having been the stale Subject of Compliment to considerable Persons with every

\* Ωυ (Θεων επιγειων) ενιους Φασι και Βασιλεις γεγονεναι κατα την Αιγυπίου τινας δε αυτών μεν ό . Ήλιου Βασιλευσαι των κατ' Αιγυπίου όμωνυμου ουτά . Ήλιου Βασιλευσαι των κατ' Αιγυπίου όμωνυμου ουτά . τω κατ' ουρανου αστρω' Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12.13.

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cold Invention from the most distant Memory. Mr. Addison, with his usual Delicacy of Ridicule, prettily rallies this trite Style of panegyrizing, in his fecond Dialogue of the Usefulness of antient Medals. "There is scarce a great Man", (says he) in that incomparably entertaining Piece, " whom the Sun has shone upon, that " has not been compared to him. I look " on Similes as part of his Productions. I " do not know, whether he raises Fruits " or Flowers in greater Number" \*. But when the Simile was new, Hortenfius, it was by no means, I think, inelegant. And the confidering our Heroes in fuch a Correspondency of Character, as is here supposed, to the two principal Luminaries of Heaven, might eafily be improved into giving them a local Residence in them, as the Reward of their analogous Services to Egypt.

Your Fancy is not amiss (replied Hortensius) though, I must own, I chuse rather to abide by my own Account of this Matter. The Egyptians, I believe, used more the Language of the Eyes, than that of the Ears, for the Vehicle of their Heroes Praises. Their Mode of panegyrizing their deceased Benefactors seems rather to have been a kind of Dramatic Representation of their Services, than a Rhetorical Description

<sup>\*</sup> Addison's Works, 4to. Ed. Vol. I. p. 492.

tion of them. To fignify, for example that Ilis was the Inventres of Bread on in Repet, they used to invoke her even Year over the first Reapings of their Har vest \* And in their devotional Solemni ties to her Honor they hewed a Specimen of the Grain the had discovered for them as the Register of their Obligations to herup on this account +. In the fame dramatic Turn of Thinking, when they celebrated annually the Obsequies of Ofiris, they cat. ried about a Cheft, the Representation of their Heroe's Coffin 1; as also certain Sym bols of Hufbandry and Plantation, to fignify his having been the Introducer of their efeful Arts among them . A Cert mony which subsisted in the Rituals of

Μαρτυριου θε Φερουσι της ευρησεως των ειρημειώ καρπων το τηρουμενου τωρό αυτοις εξαρχαιών υφιμους ετι γαρ και νυν, κατα του θερισμού, τους πρωτους αμηθεντας σταχυς θεντας τους αυθρωπους, κοιτεσθαι πλησιου του δραγματος, και την Ισιν ανακαλεισθαι. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Παρ' ενιαις δε των ωολεων και τοις Ισειοις ει τη ωομπη μετα των αλλων Φερέσθαι ωυθμενας ωνρων και κριθων, απομυηματα των εξ αρχης τη θεώ Φιλοτεχνως ευρεθευτων Diod. loc. cit.

τ Ωσπερ αμελει και το δεικνυμενου αυτοις ειδωλου αυθρωσου τεθυηκοτος ευ κιδωτιω σεριφερομενου Κ Τ Λ. Plut. de Isid. & Os. p. 357. Και την ίεραν κιστην δι στολισται και δι ίερεις εκφερουσι χουσουν εντος εχουσαν κιδωτιου. Ibid. p. 366.

The Van, and the Thyrsus used in the Bacchic Rites, which were originally the Egyptian ones to Osiris. See Plat. de Iside & Os. p. 364-5.

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ment Paganism to its latest Periods; the hen the real Intendment of it was thought wifeable to be suppressed, it was contrived resolve it into a mystical one. From which ramatic Manner of the Egyptians in the hef Offices of their Heroic Worthip, it ame to pass, as I conceive, that all the apital Services of the antient Heroic Suufition in fuch other Pagan Nations we are best acquainted with were the nature of a Religious Drama; confing for the most part of certain wunura, sensible Representations of particular nore remarkable Passages in the History ad Adventures of the Patron Hero \*. Of his kind, for example, were the Rites erformed by the Phanicians to Adonis and Venus; by the Phrygians to Attis and Spele; the Thracians to Bacchus; the Cretans to Jupiter; the Inhabitants of Samothrace and Lemnos to the Dii Cabiri;

Η δε τιμωρος Οτιριδος αδεχθη και χυνη ου σε
ειδε τους αθλους και τους αγωνας ούς ανετλη, και

πλανας αυτης, και σολλα μεν εργα σοφιας, πολ
λι δε ανδριας, αμνηστιαν υπολαδουσα και σιωπην,

ελλα ταις άγιωταταις αναμιξασα τελεταις, εικονας

μι υπονοίας, και μιμημα των τοτε σαθηματων κα
μενωσεν Plut. de If. & Of. p. 361. Την δε μητε
μενων (Ηλιου και Σεληνης) τους οχλους θεον τε

πμισαι, και Βωμας ιδρυσμοθαι, και ταις δία των

πμπανων και κυμβαλων ενεργειαις, και ποις αλλοις

πασι απομιμουμενους τα περι αυτην ευμβαντας θυ
πας και τας αλλας τιμας απονειμαι Diod. Sic.

δι. Lib. III. p. 190, 191.

and by the People of Sicily and Attica to the fame divine Persons under the more distinguished Appellations of Ceres, Plute, and Proserpine.

You are then of opinion (interposed I Hortenfius, that the Mode of Worship with all these Countries was indeed Egyptian, but the Objects of it certain of their own local Gods.

-I AM fo, (refumed he) Philemon; and the general Account I would give of the matter is in few Words this. The fevera Nations we are here fpeaking of were, then is great Reason to think, at different time the Seats of certain originally Egyptian Colo nies. These Colonies, no doubt, carried along with them the Religion of their Mo ther Country throughout the whole Courl of their Migrations into foreign Parts. The Rites of Ofiris and Isis, being a principa Article of this Religion, would of confe quence be punctually observed by them wherever they might chance to refide a the stated Periods of their Celebration. Nov these Rites, as has been shewn, ran much upon the dramatic Strain, A Circumstance which would naturally draw the Attention of fuch foreign Spectators of them, among whom they might at any time happen t be performed. The Novel Appearance Nat Tings arrenant Diode Sic.  these Soler riosity in the meaning that the Egypt, a Comuch farm utions; a to do Hora dramatic sages of the would from of this Redramatize; Egyptian

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these Solemnities would raise a strong Cuhofity in their Observers to know what was the meaning of them. And being told, that the Celebraters of them came from Egypt, a Country, as they might have heard, much famed for the Wisdom of its Instiutions; and that the Defign of them was to do Honor to certain Egyptian Gods, by dramatic Representation of the chief Pasfiges of their once Mortal History; they would from hence probably take the Hint of this Religious Mimickry themselves, and dramatize, if one may so call it, after the Egyptian Mode, in the Worship of their own national Divinities.

But how (said I) do you reconcile this Account of things, Hortenfius, which you have been here giving, with what you observed some time ago, of the antient Historians being unanimously agreed, that as well the chief Gods, as Worship of Paganism, came originally from Egypt?

I AM not aware (returned he) Philemon, that I have any fuch Affertion as this to answer for. What I observed to you upon the Testimony of the antient Historians was, that the Egyptians were esteemed the first of Mankind who used the facred Names, Two Sews or openata, or, as it is essewhere expressed by the same Author, (Herodotus) the Sews

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επωνυμιαs, usual characteristic Appellation under which the Pagans worshipped mo of their chief Gods \*; and who did more over, as Lucian tells us, relate Acyous in "Histories of Divine Persons." An this they might very naturally be in-as much as they were a People policied, an accommodated with the more necessar Arts of Life, (the Inventors whereof the had characteristically deified for their Re compence) from the most distant Memor of things in Pagan Antiquity. But it wi by no means follow, that, because the Egyp tians were for the most part the origina Proprietors of the received Characterist Appellations of the chief Pagan Gods, the were so likewise of their several Persons These Appellations being rather specific that individual; Titles, as one may fay, of Office not merely Names of Men; and what migh therefore be applied in common to differen Persons, who in different Ages and Coun tries of the Pagan World had acted under a competent Analogy of Historic Character

\* Δυωδεκα τε θεων επωνυμιας ελεγου πρωτους Αι γυπθιους νομισαι, και Έλληνας παρα σφεων αναλα βειν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 4. To illustrate particular I infic Appel mans deifie was that meanly present and answer of Plenty Appellation the Egypta

meneatæ, qu diffe. ibid. c Prima Cœlo Tertia Jove 1 oncepta, qua Matrem fupr Egyptii Saita ntam fupra phe. Quinta Lib. 3. cap. omnium nor Idololatriæ, I tuni, quot P fibulis, fi ad ognoscitur. Neptuni sui: erent. Vost. nobilium Re Populos. A Saturnos ; q Nomina igi potius quam Ed. Ægypt turni, Joves

les, ob facili Firch. Œd

\* Dimiti

<sup>+</sup> Nam Joves plures in priscis Græcorum literi invenimus. ap. Cic. de Nat. Deorum Lib. 3. cap. 16 Volcani item Complures. ibid. cap. 22. Mercurii unus Cœlo patre, Die Matre natus. Alter Valent et Coronidis Filius. Tertius Jove tertio natus Maja. Quartus Nilo patre. Quintus, quem colum Pheneata

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To illustrate this Matter, Philemon, by a particular Instance—One of the Characteristic Appellations under which the Egyptians deified their favourite Goddess Isis, was that which the Greeks have pretty nearly preserved to us in their Demeter, and answers in our Language to the Mother of Plenty\*. The Reason of giving this Appellation to her was her having taught the Egyptians the Art of sowing their I 2 Lands.

heneatæ, qui Ægyptiis dicitur Leges et Literas tra-Miffe, ibid, cap. 22. Dianæ item plures—Venus fima Cœlo et Die nata. Altera Spuma procreata. Tertia Jove nata et Dionâ. Quarta Syria Tyroque mncepta, quæ Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nup-Me proditum est-Minerva prima, quam Apollinis Matrem supra diximus. Secunda orta Nilo quam Egyptii Saitæ colunt. Tertia illa, quam Jove gene-nam supra diximus. Quarta Jove nata et Coryde. Quinta Pallantis Filia, &c. De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap. 23. Jupiter igitur generali Regum omnium nomine accipitur. Voss. de Orig. & Prog. dololatriæ, Lib. 1. cap, 14. Postea tot prope Nepuni, quot Principes Insulares: quod ex Poetarum abulis, si ad historiam eas referamus, non obscurè agnoscitur. Ac præter istos et Continenti fuere Neptuni sui: in his principes, qui arte equestri exceltrent. Voss. Lib. 1. cap. 15. Saturnos dictos, qui nobilium Regum Vetustissimi condiderunt Urbes et Populos. Ac proinde non unum sed Plures fuisse Sturnos; quorum Patres Coeli, Filii vero Joves. Nemina igitur hæc fuerunt dignitatis-Analoga, otius quam Æquivoca. Xen. de Equivoc. ap. Kirch. Ed. Ægypt. Vol. 1. p. 180. Hinc tot Coeli, Saturni, Joves, Hercules, Rheæ, Tellures, Vestæ, Juno-185, ob facinorum quæ perpetrarunt Similitudinem. lirch. Œd. Ægypt. p. 180, 181. \* Dimitir.

Lands. Some Ages afterwards Ceres, have ing done the fame thing to the People Attica in Greece, when she came to b deified there, went under the same commo Denomination with the Egyptian Ifis. And this is what the Greek Writers mean, when they speak of Is and Ceres as the fam Goddess \*. Not personally such to be fure for in this respect, their Histories, as re lated by the same Writers, put a notoriou Difference between them +: But merel (to fay nothing here of their united Phylical Characters in Antiquity) in a Theological Conception of them; as being worshipped by the different Countries in which the lived upon the fame common Reasons of Apotheofis; the one, as has been already observed, having introduced into Attica what the other had before into Egypt, the three invaluable Bleffings of Corn, Property and Legislation.

\* Ισις δε εστι κατα την Έλληνων γλωσσαν Δη μητης. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 59. Και τον μεν Ο σιριν Φασι με Θερμηνευομενον ειναι Διονυσον, την δε Ι σιν εγίστα πως Δημητραν. Diod. Sic. Lib. I. p. 13

ΤΜετα δε της κορης άρπαγην μυθολογουσι τη Δημητραν μη δυναμενην ευρειν την θυγατερα, λαμωτάδας εκ των κατα την Αιτνην κρατηρων αναψαμενην, επελθειν επι πολλα μερη της οικουμενης. Τω δανθρωπων τους μαλιστα ταυτην προσδεξαμενους εξεργετησαι, τον των πυρων καρπον αντιδωρησαμενης. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 288. The Diftreffes we find of Ceres were wholly occasioned by the Rape of a favorite Daughter; Whereas those of Iss were all upon account of the Murder of her Husband.

So that Heroic-The was proper Apotheofis the most Heroes, ve fimpler Ar

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<sup>\*</sup> Hic entandæ effent varios Exim omnium Ge tebus ab Æt diffitis. Voff

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So that upon the whole (said I) the province, or Head-Characters only, of the Heroic-Theology of the Greeks, was all that was properly Egyptian; the Subjects of the Apotheosis with them being no other, for the most part, than such of their own Heroes, who had taught them the first simpler Arts and Accommodations of Life,

UNLESS (returned he) to their Theowic-Characters borrowed, as we fay, from their fynonymous Egyptian Predecessors in the Apotheofis, we may add fometimes a few Circumstances of History derived to them from the same Quarter. For the Greeks, we know, were not over-nice in the Chronology of their Heroic-Divinities; but in order to do honor to their Reputation would plunder any Age or Country for the Materials of it \*. In the mean time, to return once more to the facred Affairs of Egypt—The Demonism, as has been related, of Ofiris and Isis, or in other Words their posthumous Superintendence over the Interests of their Country, being once believed and established there; a like Persuasion would soon come to obtain of fuch

<sup>\*</sup> Hic enim veterum mos erat, quo magis adminadæ essent Virtutes eorum quos in Deos retulissent, varios Eximiæ Virtutis in unum constare, unique omnium Gesta attribuere, quod dissicile non erat in rebus ab Ætate sua remotis, et gestis in Terra longe dissitis. Vost. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. Lib. 1. cap. 19.

fuch other departed Persons, as had been of any considerable Eminence in their Ge. And Death, as we have feen in the Case of their two principal Heroes, being looked upon by the Egyptians as a Change of Scene only, not of Manners or Disposition; hence it became a general Practice with them to deify their favorite Dead under that particular Character of Usefulness which they had sustained whilst living. And accordingly the feveral deified Inventors of the more necessary Arts of Life were considered by them after their Decease as the especial Patron Gods of their own personal Inventions. As in the Case of the Egyptian Vulcan, Vesta, Diana, Mercury, and almost every other principal Character of the Heroic Divinity; excepting that of Neptune, as Herodotus feems to have thought; a Deity, to whom from their religious Aversion to the Sea, and being, in the first Settlement of their Empire at least, no great Sailors, they gave little or no Share of their devout Regards. And indeed fo prevailing was the Opinion with them, of the chief Qualities of the Hero subfifting in the Demon, that even Typhon himself had by this means a Place in their System of Deity; the Egyptians, tho' they hated his Memory, yet dreading his Malice, and accordingly indeavoring to divert or appeale it by fuch deprecatory Rites of Worship,

as they co posed pes Divinity.

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UNDO you con Apotheof indeed n any partic into the eafily obt Excellence naturally into his . Imperfect the Idea and grove such abje course, v Tempers of them, tients sho ter of fa

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as they conceived most suitable to the supposed pestilent Humor of this mischievous Divinity.

TIS upon these Grounds (said I) Hortensius, as I suppose, that the Antients have been led to express their Idea of Superstition under the Word Seignifaiporia, disidemonism, as we may call it, or the unreasonable and extravagant Fear of Demons.

Undoubtedly; (replied he) and when you consider, Philemon, that the Heroic Apotheofis with the antient Pagans was indeed nothing more, than translating in any particular Instance the buman Character into the Divine one; you will from hence eafily observe, that as well the Faults, as Excellencies, of every fuch Character, would naturally accompany the Proprietor of it into his Deified, or Demon-State; and the Imperfections of the Man make a Part of the Idea of the God. From which low and groveling Conception of their Divinities, such abject and illiberal Services must of course, with all weaker and more devout Tempers especially, enter into the Worship of them, that one cannot wonder the Antients should make that their Head Character of false Practice in Religion, which they would necessarily find to be one of the capital

(64)

capital Sources of it; Disidemonism, as you Expression is, or an anxious Sollicitude to please certain supposed Demon Powers,

Now we are upon this Subject (interrupted I) Hortenfius, there is a favorite Paffage of mine in Lucian's Treatife of Sacrifices, which owes, I have often thought its chief Force and Elegancy to a kind o Lusus upon this antient Character of Su "There is scarce any Man perstition. " (fays the Author) to be met with, " should imagine, so thorowly difinclined " to Mirth, but must be provoked to laugh " at fome of the popular Ceremonies of " Religion. But before he would ventur " to laugh in a Subject supposed so serious " he would be apt to ask himself, whether " it really was fuch? and whether the " Zealots in these unworthy Sacra could " deserve to be called eurebess, Pious Per " fons, or were not more properly, See " Exterous nas nanodaspovas? not i an active Use of the Words here, as hi Translator coldly represents him, " Di " inimicos, atque infelices ac Genios Ma " los;" but in a much more emphatica and passive one, "Persons under the Dis "Gods, rather than ingaged in the Wor " Ship of them", or, as we might by 4 Demo

a Demon " Offices take to 1 which I t gives a mi Turn to t the knows ical Write

\* 'A pusu ? mai, xxi Ta מודטעהן א מס שניט בינש העודעם שושעביים, סס λεψας των δ ω γελάν προ as you nake riziusvas, or min Pagin, ध्या प्राच्या में में हर्ति ian de Sacrifi nith this Paf om aristopha ו סוספר עסד בה שוא הפבוסטב ושל השאות שנו שני Blepfid. bremyl. Kan hremyl. 'O Semmois de

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Demoniacs instead of Demonists in the Offices of their Devotion." For this I take to be the true Idea of the Place; which I the rather incline to espouse, as it gives a more pointed and ludicrously satiric Turn to the whole Sentiment, agreably to the known Manner of this witty and sceptical Writer \*.

## K

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\* 'Α μευ γαρ ευ ταις Ουσιαις δι ματαιοι πρατποι, και ταις έορταις, και προσοδοις τωυ Θεων, και
αιτουσι, και ά ευχουται, και ά γινωσκουσι περι
που, ουκ οιδα, ει τις όυτω κατηθης εστι και λεμεναινος, όστις ου γελασεται, την αδελτηριαν επιμεψας των δρωμενων και πολυ γε οιμαι προτερον
πιγελαν προς έαυτον εξετασει, ποτερον ευσεβεις αυπικχοη καλειν, η τουναντιον Θεοις εχθρους, και καπικχοη καλειν, η τουναντιον θεοις εχθρους, και καπικληθασιν, ώστε ειναι ανθρωπων ενδεες, και κολαποιμενον ήθεσθαι, και αγανακθειν αμελουμενον; Luim de Sacrificiis, p. 182. Edit. Bourd.—Compare
with this Passage from Lucian the following ones
πικ λίπορβασιος.

λα του θεοισιν εχθρου βυρσοδεψηυ Παφλαγουα Διχ ήρεισθε στρατηγου, τας οφρυς συνηγομευ, Δ΄ τοιουμευ δεινα. In Nub. p. 160. Edit. Bifet. Βλερρία. Μῶν ου κεκλοφας, αλλ' ήρπακας; Δτεπιγλ. Κακοδαιμουᾶς. In Plut. p. 40.

hemyl. 'Ως μεν γαρ νυν ήμιν ο Βιος τοις αν-

θρωποις διακειται,

καν ουκ ήγοιτ' ειναι μανιαν, κακοδαιμονιαν τ'ετι μαλλου. In Plut. p. 52.

Your Correction here, (refumed Hor. tenfius) may very probably be a just one the Thought is certainly improved by it But at present we have other Affairs upor our hands, than critical Disquisitions. have already, you know, confidered th same Theologic-Character as subsisting i very different Persons; let us now, in pal fing, turn the Tables a while, and confide the same Person, as sometimes vested with very different Theologic-Characters. W have the Testimony of Plutarch, that the Minerva of Sais in Egypt, where was he Temple, you know, with the fo much famed Inscription, was esteemed to be the fame Person with Isis \*. And we are to by Herodotus, that the chief Festival this Minerva was that of the Auguora the Festival of Lamps; celebrated by public Illumination of the City of Sais Vessels of lighted Oil +. If we lay the Observations together, and withal recolle what has been remarked of the general dramatic Turn of the Egyptian Sacra, shall perhaps find Reason to conclude, the the Minerva we are speaking of was or Is under a more detached and particular

rized Idea he Egypti. Tree, and Lights to And as Ifis i have bee have fort he was th Diodorus S form us, drangers to ents her as he really f in fo gene ions, I an ave afford Divinity, a herefore fo id, as th juality of t ras the Pe Ofris in fo tety, and Discipline, ation of th ousness: A ng, her H biilidered

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<sup>\*</sup> Το δ' ευ Σαι της Αθηνάς (ήν Ισιν νομιζου έδος επιγραφην είχε τοιαυτην. Εγω είμι Κ. Τ. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 354. + Vide Herod, Lib. II. cap. 62.

(67)

ized Idea of her; as the Person who taught he Egyptians the Plantation of the Olive Tree, and the use of Oil for Artificial ights to supply the Absences of the Sun. and as Isis is thus abundantly confirmed to us have been the Minerva of the Egyptians, have formetimes been inclined to fuspect e was their Venus likewise. Herodotus, piodorus Siculus, and Plutarch all agree to form us, that the Egyptians were no brangers to this Goddess. Plutarch repreents her as the Wife of Typhon. te really stood in this Relation to a Perin so generally hated in Egypt, the Egypins, I am apt to think, would hardly ave afforded her so mild a Character of Divinity, as is here supposed. I am rather beefore for confidering Venus, as I have id, as the divine Character of Isis, in julity of the great Mother of her Country; as the Person, who by her Assistance to fris in forming the Egyptians into Sotty, and giving them falutary Laws and Micipline, had laid the Grounds and Founation of their national Strength and Popuwiness: As, in the same way of Thinkng, her Husband, I persuade myself, was insidered by the Egyptians, as the Father f bis Country, in the obscene Ceremony f the Phallephoria; a Practice probably, hits first Institution, omblematically commemorative of Osiris, the great Founder of K 2 the

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the Egyptian Polity, under this distinguished Notion or Regard \*.

Is then (said I) the chast and continent Is, the very Model, as she is usually represented, of conjugal Affection and Fidelity, reduced at last to the Dissoluteness of a Venus, one of the loosest Characters in all Sacred Antiquity, and chief Scandals of Religious Paganism?

Possibly (returned he) the Character might not originally be fo scandalous as you feem to apprehend. How do you know, but the more difreputable Parts of it may have been the Additions of After-Ages, and owing to the Misconducts of fome later Subjects of it, than the Person we are at prefent concerned with? tho, should you insist upon it after all, Philemon, that a certain Mixture of Intrigue is absolutely necessary to the Idea of a Venus, a Critic in Reputations might, for aught I know, find Grounds of Suspicion even against Isis herself. This at least is pretty remarkable in her History, that during the Absence of Osiris from his Kingdom, a Season, one would think, of all others the fittest for a Rebellion against him to break out in, W Faction. peaceably supreme ] be tempt of her F Governm foothing ! compose tion? a what Pi instifiable even afte Ofiris; V up to he upon to Philemon to believe you call tain tend tionate f the Men

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<sup>\*</sup> Έλλησι γαρ δη Μαμπους εστι δεξηγησάμενος του Διοιυσου τουμομα, και την θυσιην, και την Πομ. ωην του Φαλλου. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 144.

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out in, we hear nothing of Typhon and his All, it feems, went well and peaceably in Egypt, so long as Isis was the supreme Manager there \*. Might not one be tempted to suspect here, that the Charms of her Person were the Security of her Government? and that Love was the great foothing Power which could thus effectually compose the restless Turbulency of Ambition? a Suspicion, which is increased by what Plutarch reports to us, of the unjustifiable Partiality of Isis towards Typhon, even after his having been the Murderer of Ofiris; when, upon Horus's delivering him up to her as his Captive, she was prevailed upon to give him his Liberty +. You fee, Philemon, there is need of some Candor to believe, that even the continent Is, as you call her, was wholly proof against certain tender Failings; and, however affectionate she is represented to have been to the Memory of her Husband, had not taken some modish Freedoms in his Life-time.

Bur

<sup>\*</sup> Υστερου δε γηυ σασαυ ημερουμένου επελθειυ (Οτιριυ) Τυφωνα δε άπαυτος μευ ουθευ νεωτεριζειν, δια το τηυ Ισιυ ευ μαλα φυλατζεσθαι και σροσεχειν εξκρατως εχουσαν επαιελθουτι δε δολου μηχαυασθαι. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 356.

<sup>†</sup> Την μεν ουν μαχην επι σολλας ήμερας γενεοθαι, και κρατησαι του Ωρου του Τυφωνα δε την Ισιν
δεδεμενος σαραλαβούσαν ουκ ανελειν, αλλα και λυσαι

(70)

But the Egyptians (faid I) I suppose were not over-scrupulous in Characters or at least their Gratitude was too strong for their Censoriousness; and they could easily overlook a few Slips in Conduct, in a Person of Iss's extraordinary Usefulnes and Beneficence.

I SEE (refumed he) Philemon, you ar no Friend to Isis in the Capacity of a Venus I will therefore change the Scene for you and introduce her to your Acquaintano under a Character, you will probably have less Exception to, that of the Egyptia Rhea, or Mother of the Gods. The Man ner of representing this Divine Personage a neighbouring Country to Egypt, was, we learn from Lucian in his Account of the Goddess of Hierapolis in Syria, unde the Image of a Woman wearing a Turre or Crown resembling the Fashion of Tower, upon her Head; and supported by Lions\*. Virgil's Cybele, you know, also turrita, and seated in a Chariot drawn we are to suppose, by the same kind Ani

και μεθειναι τον δε 'Ωρον ου μετριως ενέκειν, αλλ' ε πιδαλοντα τη μήτρι τας χειρας αποσπασαι της κε Φαλης το Βασιλειον Plut. de Isid. & Os. p. 358.

nimals \* mal Subje ot help be as one ian: And mblems ften as Ifi. oness of ion; one whereof t he Fiercer ories, of Wild Beaf Mother of effect that those In which gave their sev dd, that were prob So dren. herself to dreffing he has possible though by when the " dess, w

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<sup>\*</sup> Σημηία δε ή θεος τα σολλα ες Ρεην απικεεται λεουτες γαρ μιν Φερουσι, και επι τη κεΦαλη συργο Φορεει, όκοιην Ρεην Λυδοι σοιουσι. Lucian. de Syr Dea p. 1062.

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nimals \*. Whoever was the strict Permal Subject of this Representation, I canot help being of Opinion, the Thought of as one may fay, was altogether Egypan: And that the Turret and Lions were imblems first made use of in Egypt, as ften as Ifis was confidered there as a Paoness of Building and political Affociain; one very important Consequence hereof to Mankind was, either taming he Fierceness, or guarding against the Inries, of the more dangerous Species of Wild Beafts. That she should be styled a Mother of Gods can be no Mystery, if we flect that she seems to have led the Way those Inventions of more civilized Life, which gave the first Grounds of Apotheosis their feveral reputed Authors. Not to dd, that some of these Deified Artists were probably in a literal Sense her Chilten. So that the Idea which Isis gives of erself to Lucius in Apuleius, upon his adtreffing her to restore him to his Humanity, as possibly a great deal of Theological, hough but little Historic Truth in it; when she tells him, " She is that Goddess, whom all Nations worship under "different Views of her Character. That " the original Natives of Phrygia called her "Pessinuntica, and the Mother of the " Gods.

\*——Qualis Berecynthia Mater Invehitur Curru Phrygias turrita per Urbes Læta Deûm Parta. Virg

" Gods. Those of Attica, the Cecropian Minerva. The People of Cyprus, the " Venus of Paphos. Those of Crete, Diana " Dictynna, or the Inventress of the Hunt-" ing-Net. The Sicilians, Proferpine. The " Eleufinians, Ceres. Others, Juno. Others, "Bellona. Those, Hecate. These, Rham-" nufia. But the Egyptians only had her true " Name, which was that of the Queen Ifis "." To confider her again, Philemon, under which her more afcertained Appellation -We left her, you know, in her departed or Demon-state, removed by the fond Gratitude of her Survivors from Earth to Heaven, and refiding in their Imaginations in the Orb of the Moon; whilst the Soul of Osiris was received, it was conjectured, into that of the Sun. Afterwards, when the Egyptians had applied themselves to astronomical Observations, and it was remarked by them, that the Heliacal rifing of the Star Sothis, which the Greeks called by the Name of Astrocyon, or the Dog-Star, always preceded, and feemed, as it were,

\* Cujus numen unicum multiformi Specie, ritu vario, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deûm Matrem. Hinc Antocthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam. Illinc sluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem. Cretes Sagittiferi Dictymnam Dianam. Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam. Eleusinii Vetustam Deam Cererem. Junonem alii. Bellonam alii. Hecatem isti. Rhamnusiam illi. Egyptii vero nomine appellant Reginam Isidem. Apul. Met. Lib. II. prop. Init.

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bannounce to them, the approaching annual Increase of their Nile, they made Is the Compliment of supposing her to reside in Sotbis, as well as in the Moon; and to be the influencing Cause of that kind Admonition, which they yearly received from this useful Luminary \*. Diodorus informs us, that some of the antient Greek Mythologifts called Ofiris by the Name of Sirius, or the Dog Star; from whence 'tis not improbable, but the Egyptians had given him, as well as his Confort, a Part in the good Offices of this their Celestial Monitor +. And in general, we may observe here once for all, that the Deification of the antient Heroes usually passed under the Notion of their inhabiting particular Stars 1; whose Names

\* Ισις δε ταρ αυτοις εστιν αστηρ, Αιγυπλιστι καλωμενος Σωθις, Έλληνιστι δε Αστροκυών Ησταρ. Hierogl. Lib. 1. Hierog. 3. Λεγουσιν οι ιερεις καλεισθαι Κυνα μεν την Ισιδος (ψυχην) υπ' Έλληνων, υπ' Αιγυπλιων δε Σωθιν Plut. de If. & Of. p. 359. Ότε αρα η μεν ανατελλει το αστρον ο κυων, συνανισχει αρα θε αυτω τροπον τινα και ο Νειλος, και αναχειται τεριτας αρουρας. Ælian. Hift. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 45. Των τε αστερων τον σειριον Ισιδος νομιζουσι, υδραγωγον οντα Plut. de If. & Of. p. 366.

† Των δε ωαρ' Έλλησιν ωαλαιων μυθολογων τι-

Lib. I. pag. II.

των αλλων θεων τα μεν σωματα παρ' αυτοις κεισθαι καμοντα, και θεραπευεσθαι, τας δε ψυχας εν Οιενω λαμπειν αστρα. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 359.

Names they from thenceforth took them felves, and often returned the Favour in kind, by giving them their own persona ones, whilst upon Earth, in requital. And thus Hero-worship became as it were in grafted upon Luminary-worship; which is time produced frequently, as will here after be explained, fuch a total Confusion of the civil, with the natural Gods of th antient Pagans, as to make it extremel difficult to determine with any Degree of Satisfaction to one felf what Part of the religious Ritual had relation to one Sort Divinities, and what to the other. O which no one can want a fufficient Con viction, who will be at the pains of in forming himself, with what puzzled Indu try Vossius, and other learned Writers upo the Theology of the Antients, have labore in this imbaraffed Subject. - But here Philemon, let me prepare you a little for very confiderable Change of Scene, which in the Course of our Speculation you at now to expect from me. Inafmuch a from having carried up your Thoughts the celestial Regions, as the happy Res dence of the departed Ofiris, and Ifis, I at next to bring you acquainted with the under a Conception more degrading, that even their late buman State; I mean " as inhabiting the Forms of certain " Brute-Animals, some of the least honor

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A CHANGE of Scene, (interposed I) it must be owned, not a little disadvantageous this to the Parties concerned in it. But whatever Objections they might have to make to such a reduced Situation of Divinity, I assure you I have none to attending them in it; as it promises to lead you into the Article of the Symbolic-Theology of the Egyptians; under which Head, you know, you are to let me a little into the general Notion of their celebrated Hieroslyphics. A Point, I am impatient to have you speak to.

As far (replied he) as we have at present any concern with this Matter, that is, as far as the Hieroglyphics stand connected with the symbolic or animal Worship of Egypt, I will give you the best Account of them that I can. For a nice and critical Disquisition of the Hieroglyphic Science, besides that the Subject itself is not a little dark and perplexed, and would moreover too much divert our Thoughts from what they

<sup>\*</sup> When Osiris and Isis came to be confounded with the Sun and Moon, which gave them an Interest in all those different kinds of consecrated Animals which were considered as Symbols of these Luminaries.

are here principally ingaged in; I have the less Reason, as well as Inclination attempt this, as I have good Grounds believe it has already fallen into much abl Hands; and makes part of a Work short to be expected from the Press, the Secon Volume of " the Divine Legation " Moses demonstrated, &c." For our pu pose then, Philemon, I begin with obser ing to you, that, before the Introduction Alphabetic Characters into the World, t best way Men could think of to fignify each other their Thoughts in Writing wa either " by a direct Picture, wherever the " was practicable, of the Object they h " occasion to describe," or in other Ca " by substituting visible Objects for invisib " ones, in the way of Emblem or natu " Symbol." For the Practice of writi by immediate Picture, the bare menti is a fufficient Explication of it. For t other Method, I know not how better represent it to you, than by reading you Paffage out of Diodorus Siculus upon t Subject, if you will trouble your felf reach me down that Author from behi you. - "Tis here in the fourth Book his Historical Library .- " But now (fa " he) I am to take notice of the Ethio " Characters, called by the Egyptia ised to this " Hieroglyphics. For the Make or Fashi grees to a 1

of them forts of or Mer likewife Instrum ing with not by I their troj them in ineate a pent; A With o nature. of remarl Swiftness Quality, Confidera most as re by the F had been & a Croco lice. The The Righ tended of of Frugali derstood of following v

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of them, they refemble the Forms of all forts of Animals; certain of the Parts or Members of the human Body; as likewife different kinds of Mechanical Instruments. For the Manner of Writing with the People I am speaking of is not by Words, but Things, which have their tropical Senses habitually affixed to them in the Memory. Thus they delineate a Hawk, a Crocodile, and a Sergent; A Man's Eye, Hand, and Face; With other Representations of a like nature. By a Hawk, which is a Bird of remarkably fwift Flight, they fignify Swiftness, or Expedition at large. Which Quality, in the Thing or Person under Confideration with them, is by Use almost as readily suggested to their Minds by the Figure of this Animal, as if it had been expressed to them in Words. & a Crocodile is the Emblem of Malice. The Eye of Justice and Vigilance. The Right Hand with the Fingers exunded of Gain. The Left Hand closed of Frugality. And the like is to be understood of all their other Marks. For blowing with the Mind the natural now (fa Significancy of each Object, and having heir Memory and Attention well exer-ifed to this purpose, they come by de-Fashi gees to a ready and immediate Appre-" henfion

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"to them \*". You cannot but remark here, Philemon, (continued he) that the Historian all along represents it as the Work of Time and Pains to acquire a Facility at Understanding this Emblem Language. And indeed the obvious Imperfection in every respect of the emblematic Character, compared with the way of Writing by Letters of an Alphabet, is to me such a natural Demonstration, that Hieroglyphics, as I said before, "were both prior in the Order of Time to Letters."

Περι δε των Αιθιοπικών γραμματών, των τος Αιγυπλιοις καλουμενων ιερογλυφικών, ρητησι συμβε βακε τοινυν τους μεν τυπους υπαρχειν αυτών όμοιος ζωοις σαντοδαποις, και ακροτηριοις ανθρωπων, ετ δ οργανοις, και μαλιστα τεκτονικοις ου γαρ εκ τη των συλλαβων συνθεσεως ή γραμματική σαρ αυτοι του υποκειμενου λογου αποδιδωσιν, αλλ' εξ εμφασει των μεταγραφομενων, και μεταφορας μυημη συνήλη μενης γραφουσι γαρ ιερακα, και κροκοδειλού, ετι οφιν, και του εκ του σωματος των ανθρωπων οβθαλ μου, και χειρά, και ωξοσωπου και ετερά τοιαπά ο μεν ουν ιεραξ αυτοις σημαινει σαντα τα οξεως γε νομενα, διο το ζωον τουτο των ωληνων σχεδον υπας Χειν οξυτατον. μεταθερεται τε ο λογος ταις οιχεια μεταφοραίς εις σαντα τα οξεα, και τα τουτοις οι κεια, σαραπλησιως τοις ειρημεροις-Ταις γαρ εκαστοις ενουσαις εμφασεσι συνακολουθεντες, και με λετη σολυχρονιω και μυημη γυμυαζουτες τας ψυχας έκλικως έκαστα τωυ γεγραμμενων αναγινωσκού Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. III. p. 145.

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and introduced at first merely for want " of them," that did not the wildest Whimfies formetimes find their ferious Abetters, even amongst Persons otherwise of good Understanding, I should be tempted to wonder, how the contrary Opinion to this could ever have met with any sensible Advocate. Yet so it has proved, Philemon; " and the comparative necessary Imperfee-" tion of Picture, to literary Characters... "their want of Verbs and connective Par-"ticles - the supposed inaccurate Way of " writing them in the first Ages, easily "open to Mistakes of their Meaning -"the observed Intermixture of both forts "of Characters in remaining Egyptian "Monuments, the one inferted to help "out the defective Senses of the other ---" (all of which I cannot but think frong "Arguments of Letters being lefs antient, "because so much more useful than Hie-"roglypbics") are by an Author of no less Diffinction than the knowing and ingenious Mr. Shuckford, in his " Connection of the "Sacred and Profane History" produced as Evidences on the quite opposite side of this Question \*. In such very different Lights do different Persons see the same Objects! One farther Instance of which, with regard to myself and this Writer, (for whom nevertheless I have a just Esteem)

<sup>\*</sup> See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 295-6.

I cannot help remarking here, because it feems to me a very extraordinary one, " The Men of the first Ages (fays he) " could much fooner invent and learn a er rude Character, than they could acquire "Art enough to draw Pictures, And " therefore fuch a Character, 'tis most pro-" bable, was first invented and made use " of \*! As if the mere Eafine's of the Writing or Figuring part was all that was here to be confidered, and not rather, and principally, the Easiness of the Understanding. For in this View furely, the Picture of an Animal diftinguished by some remarkable Quality, tho' ever so ill drawn, would at least bid fairer to suggest to Mens Minds the Idea of that Quality, than a merely arbitrary Mark of the same Quality can be supposed to do: The one kind of Substitute relying wholly for its interpretation upon unaffifted Memory; the other (though I deny not but it was liable to be fometimes mistaken) having generally, as we may fay, Nature, as well as Art, on its fide; fomething of an inherent Significancy in it; an Aptness of itself point out its particular Meaning.

This is a strong Instance (I interrupted)

Hortensius, of what I remember to have
often heard you complain of, "Mens in"terpreting

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<sup>\*</sup> See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 296.

terpreting Antiquity by modern Ideas." and it shews evidently the falseness of this Rule of Interpretation. The Author proboly had his Eye upon Alphabetic Wriing in his own time; of which though the Use be wholly founded in Memory, yet we are apt to think but meanly of a Man's Attainments, who is at a loss to read and understand his own Mother Tongue at least. And yet when one confiders how much time it actually takes up to teach a Child, or an absolutely ignorant grown Person, the due Use of his Letters. even now that the Marks of them are ready formed to his hands, with a Compendium which fome have thought super-natural that Instruction this way is reduced to Rule and Method - and moreover that Language itself is contrived with much artificial Affistance to the Memory in the methanical Structure and Composition of it -If this, I fay, be well confidered, Hortenhus, one shall have but little to expect from an artless Multiplication of rude Charafters, in equally rude Ages, towards carlying on any competent degree of literary Commerce amongst Mankind. In which way of Thinking one is not a little confirmed by reflecting, that in China, where this fort of rude Character is made use of, a Man is ranked, as we are informed, amongst the Learned, who understands a moderate

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moderate Proportion of Words only in the vulgar Language of his Country\*. Then is no question therefore, I think, to be made, but that Hieroglyphics were the first Step Mankind gained towards Writing: On that the Original Way they had of communicating with one another at a distance was either by such a Picture, or Emblem-Character, as you have represented.

NATURE (refumed he) Philemon, the furest Guide in all Questions of Antiquity if I have any Judgment this way, would suggest to them a Communication of this kind previously to any other. A Sentiment, which is confirmed by Fact, as well as Reason, if it be true, what some Writers upon this Subject have afferted to us "that the original Fashion of Letters with the Egyptians," (a People amongst the first who used, if they did not invent an Alphabet

habet) " tions, O1 " plied to Thus, for Alphabet, this placed As their D onfidered Earth which it. But haps more out enterin hobic W1 have feen, " stitution " the acc " Analogy " Of prese " or diftar " fively, o of Mem View of th Conception that in the species of

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<sup>\*</sup> By all I can gather out of so many Authors a have written of China, they have no Letters at all but only so many Characters, expressing so many Words; these are said by some to be Sixty, by other Eighty, and by others Sixscore Thousand. The Learning of China therefore consists first in the Knowledge of their Language. Sir W. Temple's Works, Fel. p. 201. The Number of Letters they (the Chinase) use is excessive—It is true he who can make good use of Twenty Thousand is a good Scholar, Navarette's Account of the Empire of Chinase Book III. chap. 11. In Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 131.

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habet) "was taken from the Forms, Motions, or Postures of Animals before ap-" plied to Hieroglyphical Representation \*'. Thus, for Instance, the first Letter of their Alphabet, 'tis faid, is only the Beak of the his placed cross-wife upon its two Legs: As their Delta is the Legs of the fame Ibis onfidered together with the Line of the Earth which they include in standing upon it. But to let this pass, as a matter perhaps more curious, than certain; and without entering farther into the Age of Hierohobic Writing; the Grounds of it, we have seen, are laid in " the practicable Sub-" stitution of one Thing, for another, upon the account of a certain Similitude or "Analogy of their respective Qualities: " Of present, and visible Objects for past, " or distant ones: Or, more comprehen-" fively, of Ideas of the Senses, for those of Memory or Understanding." In which New of the matter, Philemon, the natural Conception, I think, which offers itself is, that in the Hieroglyphic, as in every other species of Art, the easiest Productions were bubtless the first: Or, that the most sim-M 2 ple

\*Invenimus primam literarum Egyptiarum 6701-½8100719 ex quatuordecim literis fuisse concinnatam, ut recte quoque Clemens, Eusebius, cæterique tradunt, ta sacrorum Animalium formâ, incessu, aliarumque corporis Partium sitibus desumptam. Kircher. Obelic. Pamph. p. 125.

† See Kircher, as before.

ple kinds of fymbolical Representation are generally speaking, to be esteemed the mo antient ones. Thus, of two of the Repre fentations which the Egyptians are related to have made of a Month, the one " h " a Moon with the Horns turned down " wards, and the other by a Branch of the " Palm-Tree \*;" that of the Moon, on cannot avoid thinking, must have been fir brought into Use: It being much mor obvious to observe, " that the Moon to " wards the end of her Period always at " pear'd in such a manner," which was the reason of this Symbol; than, " that it w " the Nature of the Palm-Tree to put out " new Shoot precifely every Month," which was the Foundation of the other. So again a Mole might much more easily come fignify Blindness + - Two Men joining Hands, Concord :- A Man armed, an shooting Arrows, a Riot |- Feet walking upo

\* Μπυα γραφουτες, Βαϊν ζωγραφουσιν, (Αιγυπία η σεληνήν επεστραμμενήν εις το κατω Βαίν μεν, τ we coeiphirens επι του Φοινικος αιτίας χαριν (εία δενόζου τουτο μουου τωυ αλλων, κατά την ανατολην τ σεληνής, μιαν Βαίν γεννάν. Horap. Hierog. Lib. Hierog. 3.) Σεληυην δε επεσταμμένην εις το κατ theidn, Paris, is the avatohn whose to auw teis usp σιν εσχηματισθαι, εν δε τη αποκρυτίει, εις το κα TOIS MEDOOTI VEUEIV. Horap. Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog.

+ Horap. lib. 2. Hierog. 63.

spon Wat Person into a Bea the fwift Analogies most simp be Num Days to t mme to f which in that " it #." oncealed " hunts f " the Sce " the Cri fufficier again, tha own Doo

> \* Horap + Horap. 1 Lib. 2

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. 2. Hierog. 11.

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mon Water, an Impossibility \*- A Hog, Person transformed by his Debaucheries nto a Beaft + or a Hawk upon the Wing, he fwift Course of the Wind 1 - The Analogies in all these Instances being of the most simple and striking Kinds -Than the the Number 1095, the Complement of Days to the Term of three Years, could me to fignify Silence, " because a Child which does not get the use of its Speech in that time, never afterwards obtains "it ||." Or, a She Panther to stand for a oncealed Villain, "because that Animal hunts for its Prey secretly, and keeps in the Scent of its Breath, to avoid giving " the Creature it has a Defign upon any fufficient notice of its Approach §." Or again, than a Man's never stirring out of his own Doors could be expressed by an Ant, and the Wings of a Bat, " because the inogether. Feathers

\* Horap. lib. 1. Hierog. 58.

† Horap. Hierog. lib. 2. Hierog. 37.

1 Lib. 2. Hierog. 15.

| Αφωνίαν γραφοντες, αριθμον χιλια ενευηχοντα σεντε γραφουσιν. ος τριετούς εστι χρουου αριθμος, εχ τριοφιστίων εξηχοντα ωξυτε ημερών του ετους υπαρχονικ. εφ' ου Χρουου μη λαλησαυ το σαιδίου σημειούται υς παραπεποδισμένου τη γλωσση. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 28.

) Αυθρωπου εμφωλευουτα έσωτω κοκίσο, κου απεμυπίουτα έαυτου, ώστε μη γνωσθημαι τοις idiois, Seλουτες σημημαι, Παρδαλιν ξωγράφουσιν αυτη γαρ μυθα τα ζωα Απρευει, μεν συίχωρουσα την ιδιαν οσμην αφιεναι, καταδιωκτικήν ουσαν των αλλων ζωων.

Horap. Lib. II. Hierog. 90.

Feathers of a Bat placed at the Entrance of an Ant's Nest keeps all the Ants strictly " confined there \*." -Or lastly, than the Cucuba could be made the Emblem of Gratitude " because it was observed of " that Bird, that it took a very particular " Care of its aged Parents; building them " a Nest in the same Place where it had " been hatched and brought up itself " affifting them with its Beak at the time " of losing their old Feathers; and fur-" nishing them with Food till that Season " was over, and they were again able to " fupport themselves +"-And yet, Philemon, the Analogies here concerned, are not, I affure you, a fiftieth part so refined as numberless others I could mention to you, upon which much of this Hieroglyphic Language was founded. But I the rather instance in the Particulars before us, because they relate altogether to common

\* Ανθρωπον απροίτου Βουλομενοι σημηναι, μυρμηκα και ωθερα υυκτεριδος ζωγραφουσιν διοτί τιθεμενων των ωθερων εις την νεοτσιαν των μυρμηκων, ου ωρο ερχεται αυτών τις. Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hietog. 64.

† Ευχαριστίαν γραφοντες, κουκουδαν ζωγραφουτό διοτι τουτο μουου των αλογων ζωων επειδαν ύπο των γονεων εκίραφη, γερασασιν αυτοις την αυτην ανταποδιδωσι χαριν' εν ώ γαρ ύπ' αυτων εξετραφη τοπω νεοστιαν αυτοις σοιησας, τιλλει αυτων τα σίερα, τροφας πεχορηγεί, μεχρις δυ σίεροφυησαντες δι γονεις Βοηθεί έχυτοις δυύηθωσιν. Horap. Lib. 1. Hierog. 55.

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Life; which was unquestionably the first subject Mankind had occasion to write sout.

our Minds for us

So that (I interrupted) in the times we are speaking of, to be able to write and read well. Hortenfius, a Man must have been very tolerable Naturalist. Methinks, I annot help observing here, the learning one's Letters in these Days must have been far more agreable, as well as useful Imployment, than it is in our modern Ages; fince instead of going to one's Horn-Book, or one's Primmer, for the Character and Composition of A's and B's, the Scholar had the far nobler Volume of Nature before him; and could not improve in Words without a correspondent Progress in Things. 'Tis pity this double Improvement is not a little more confulted in modern Education. Language, we ne very truely told, is the great Key to knowledge; but as the matter is too commonly managed with us, 'tis really a great while before it opens any part of it to our Minds. How much time is by most Peohe in their Youth spent in mere mechanical Reciting, before any farther useful Information is so much as thought of for hem! whereas, there is something of Fancy. nd Ingenuity in the first Aspect of the Hiewhybic Science: in being able to improve very Object one meets with into an Instru-

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ment of mutual Correspondence; and to make the mute, and even manimate par of the Creation, thus fignificantly expres our Minds for us. I think this Art is now loft to the World. We hear indeed fome times of Letters conveyed to Persons at Distance by certain feathered Messengers And a Dog, if I mistake not, in a late cele brated Instance, was thought to fignify Treasonable Correspondence: But neithe of these Cases are at all equal to the Poin in question. We seem to consider the World of Animals as designed wholly so groffer Purposes, than those of conversing by them; unless now and then we se them on talking and moralizing in a huma Voice and Accent, and think proper to give a Lecture to our own Species under som or other of their borrowed Forms.

Philemon, of the Hieroglyphic Art was a time the Ruin of it; as it gave occasion to that total Abuse of the Institution of Symbolic Writing, by which, what was intended to explain Mens Thoughts, became the most effectual Means of perplexing them and what began in easy and familiar Use degenerated in conclusion into unintelligible Mystery: inasimuch as Men of a most thoughtful and speculative Complexion gree by degrees to write so much above the complexion of the complex of the complex

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In Level, as to be understood by no body ut themselves. Which was more especially te Case, after the Hieroglyphics, as we hall fee, became facred; and, from being ractifed at first in the humble Concerns of rdinary Life, were applied mostly to the wher Subjects of Science or Divinity. In mean while, one Inconvenience which ion attended this Hieroglyphical way of Writing, and which doubtless affisted to the Abuse I have been mentioning, was the Number of equivocal Senses which the same Word often had, grounded upon the diffeant Qualities or Conceptions of the same Infible Representation. Thus, as we learn from the fixth Hieraglyphic in the Collecions of Horapollo, " a Hawk was either the Sun, or Exaltation, or fome extraordinary Fall, or Preeminence, or Blood, " or Victory. The Sun; as being an Ani-"mal remarkably prolific, and long-lived; and moreover from its great Strength of Sight seeming to be a kind of natural Image of him. Exaltation; because the Hawk by his perpendicular Flight eafily rifes above any other Bird. Falling; from the quick and immediate Descents he is observed to make from the greatest heights. Preeminence; because he is of a superior Nature to other Animals of the Feathered Kind. Blood; because that is thought to be his Drink and Nourishment.

" ment. Victory; because he has the An " to overcome any Bird who encounter " him, though superior to him in Strength " by turning himself upon his Back in the " Air, whenever he is in danger of being " worsted by his Antagonist." So again the Hieroglyphic of the Beetle stood " for " any thing produced from a fingle Caufe " for Birth; or the beginning to exist " for the World; a Father; and a Man." The Reasons may be seen in the tenth Hieroglyphic of the Author just mentioned In like manner the Vultur was made to fignify " a Mother; or Sight; or a Boundary " of Land; or Prescience; or a Year; of " the Heavens; or Mercy; or Unity;" as the fame Writer informs us in his eleventh Hieroglyphic.

THE being fometimes thus equivocal (faid I) is but a Defect which the Hieroglyphic Language has in common with most other Languages; especially, if the Orientalists are to be relied on in this matter, with the more Antient and Eastern ones; in which, I am fure, the fame Word has often as many feveral, and fometimes widely different Meanings, as the most complicated Hieroglyphic you can pitch upon. But the Context in such Instances of both kinds is the Rule by which to ascertain the Sense: and in most Cases, I should think, would do do it wi Hortenh nomy in Languag when th ture in t with a f

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do it with toletable Exactness. But after all, Hortensius, it was but an idle fort of Oeconomy in the Coiners of this Hieroglyphic Language, to be thus frugal of their Words, when they had the whole compass of Nature in their power, to furnish themselves with a sufficiently copious Expression.

THEY were like other Framers of Languages, (replied he) more studious of Abridgment than Perspicuity; and willing moreover, I suppose, to save the Trouble of writing more than was absolutely necessary. Tho', on the other hand, Philemon, if one confiders, a little Parsimony bere is at least more excusable than in Alphabetic Language; fince it was a far easier matter for them to acquaint themselves with the united Properties of the same Objects, than to diffinguish to a sufficient Degree the appropriated Peculiarities of different ones. And yet again, upon fecond Thoughts, I know not, but it had stood them in almost as little Expence of Time and Observation, (and I am fure it had been a far more ufeful Application of both) thus to have inlarged in many Cases their Stock of Words in this Emblematic Language, as it must have done to contract them in the Method they have taken, by attending to fuch nice and intricate Analogies of Objects to one another, as are the Ground of these Hieroglyphical N 2 EquiEquivocations \*. But this, tho' it would have added greatly to the Usefulness of Hiseroglyphical Writing, would haven taken off much from the Mystery of it: An End to which the Hieroglyphics came in time to be so almost universally applied, that many People have been led to believe the were originally invented for this very Purpose; and that the Progress of them was not as I have represented it, from common Life into Subjects of Religion, but, on the contrary, from Religion, into common Life.

THE Course you have affigned them (said I) is, I think, both the most natura

Μουογενες δηλουντες, η Κοσμου, Καυθαρου ( γραφουσι μονογενες μεν, ότι αυτογενες εστι το ζω ύπο θηλειας μη κυοφορουμενου -- Κοσμον δε, επει κοσμοειδη την γενεσιν ωοιείται -Επειδαν ο αρτ Βουληται ωαιδοποιησασθαι, Βοος αφοδευμα λαδω πλασσει σΦαιροειδες παραπλησιου τω κοσμω σχημι ό εκ των οπισθιων μερων κυλισας απο ανατολης δυσιν, αυτος προς ανατολην Βλεπει, ίνα αποδώ το τ κοσμου σχημα, αυτος γαρ απο του απηλιωτου λιδα Φερεται ο δε των αστερων δρομος απο λιβος απηλιωτην ταυτην ουν την σφαιραν κατορυξας γην κατατιθεται επι ήμερας εικοσι οκίω, εν όσαις κ η σεληνη ήμεραις τα δωδεκα ζωδια κυκλευει ύφ' απομενου ζωογουείται το των καυθαρω γενος τη υατη δε και εικοστη ήμερα αυοίξας τηυ σφαιραυ, ύδως Βαλλει ταυτην γας την ήμεραν νομίζει συ לפט בנושנו שבאחטון אמו אאוסט, בדו לב אמו שבשבשוו אסקעם ής ανοιγομένης εν τω υδατι ζωα εξερχεται. Hora Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog. 10.

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initielf, and the most suitable to the known reserved and involved Manner of the Egyptian Priesthood; who, had the Hierogly-bics been originally a learned or sacred Character only, would hardly, I persuade myself, have suffered them to be afterwards most titted to common and ordinary Subtes.

AND yet, (returned he) in the Accounts ne have of the Obelisks of Sesostris and amesses, Persons who lived long after the ptroduction of Symbolic, or Animal Worin into Egypt, we meet with Hieroglyhis applied to very different Purposes from eligious ones. Of two of those of the forer of these Princes, we are informed, that eir Inscriptions set forth, " the Extent of his Power, the flourishing Condition of his Revenue, and the Number of his Victories +. " And, wherever he made any inquest, we are told, his Practice was to att Pillars, upon which, together with oer Inscriptions proper to the Occasion, left behind him, " certain obscene Emblems of the manly or effeminate Temper of the conquer'd Nation \*." For .

<sup>†</sup> Τοτε μεγεθος της δυναμεως, και το ωληθος των κώων, και του αριθμου των καταπολεμηθευτών εθ-Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 37.
Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 35.

the Inscription of the funed Obelisk of Ramesses, now standing Rome, you an not to be informed, Philemon, that it of the Kind we are now speaking of and yet we know from Hermapion's Trans lation of it, that it is a mere Piece of ful some Panegyric to that vain Monarch fuch as gives one, I have often thought. much more contemptible Idea of his Sub jects, than it does a great one of himfelf I am fenfible the learned Kircher condemn Hermapion's Translation here, as contrar to the whole Tenor and Genius of the His roglyphic Character; which, as he tells u " was never used to record the Praise " and Victories of Kings, but confine " wholly to ideal and intellectual Ma " ters +." But Antiquity, a much bette Judge doubtless in the Case, is unanimor in thinking otherwise: And this Author tis well known, has his head fo full the mysterious Wisdom of the Egyptian that he will needs wrest every thing to som recondite Meaning with them. As if Darkness, like that which was once prov dentially brought upon their Country, ha univerfally spread itself over their Unde standings; and because their Hieroglyphi

\* Vide Am. Marcell. Lib. 17.

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<sup>†</sup> Kirch. Obelisc. Pamphyl. p. 151. Doctrina Hieroglyphicam, non Regum laudes & victori continere, sed solas res ideales & intelle ctuales.

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had too often an intricate Intendment, therefore they could never possibly have an obvious one. But 'tis amusing enough to observe, how Men will labor for a Favorite Hypothesis.

As the learned Author (interposed I) was so determined, it seems, to affert the every where high and important Confinction of the Hieroglyphic Writing, I mink he had fully answered his purpose here, by considering the Inscription we are speaking of as of a more raised and dignified kind, from its relation to the subject and Conduct of Majesty; instead of going thus against the Sense of Antiquity, no less than that of the Translator, to import his recondite System.

To fay the Truth, Philemon, (returned k) I have often thought the Monument in question, with those other Egyptian Monuments which remain to us, inscribed in the Hieroglyphic Character, to be so far from Evidences of the universally sublime and mysterious Sense of the Egyptian Hiemyphics, that I would not defire a strongr Evidence of the contrary: Inafmuch as bey give us good Reason to believe, that Hieroglyphics in their first Institution in lypt, were, as has been faid, nothing more than the Original Character, or comon Writing of the Country; which, haing obtained a Reverence from this very Cir-

Circumstance of its Antiquity, was for this reason used in all Public Inscriptions, even after the Introduction of Alphabetic Wilting for more ordinary and familiar Intercourse. But however the Hieroglyphics may have been sometimes indifferently applied to Civil, or Sacred, fo they were but Public Uses, 'tis time for us to confider them under the more distinguished Notion of a Religious Character or Expresfion; the only one, as has been before obferved, in which they properly relate to our present Speculation. And here, amidst the feveral ridiculous, inadequate, or unnatural Accounts which have been given us of the Origin of Symbolic Worship in E. gypt, the Principles we have been establishing will afford us, I think, the only true, however fimple a Solution of this Problem.

THE simpler, (said I) Hortensius, certainly the more probable. The beginnings of Science never lie very deep: Subtilty and Resinement are laborious Operations, and require Time and repeted Thought for their Production.

You will observe then, (proceeded he) that as Hieroglyphics with the Egyptians were the Original Writing of common Life, one of the Subjects, which would often occur to be expressed by them, would be Personal

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<sup>\*</sup> Horap. † Ibid. H ‡ Ibid. H | Ibid. Hid

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Personal Characters. Accordingly in the collection of them by Horapollo, we find ed to express almost all the more common nd ordinary Turns of the human Temper. nd Paffages of human Conduct. Thus ofignify a Woman's continuing in her first tate of Widowhood, the Egyptians defibed a particular kind of a black Pidgeon \*; sthey did a Swallow for a Man who had all his Possessions to his Children +. to have been naturally of a meek and compoled Disposition, but provoked by ill Usage, was represented by the Emblem of a Pidcon with its Tail erected ‡. To have eferted one's Family thro' Want, by that fa She-Hawk which had just laid its Regs | . The attempting things beyond a Man's Ability, was fignified by a Bat \*\*. The having brought Inconveniences upon imself, by a Beaver \*- The being ir-Hyzena \*‡. When they would characteany Person who had never been out of sown Country, or District, they figured him

Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hierog. 32.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. Hierog. 31.

t Ibid. Hierog. 48.

Ibid. Hierog. 99.

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<sup>†</sup> Ibid. Hierog. 65.

him with the Head of an Ass \*. When a Fuller, two Feet standing in Water+ The being of a morose, unsociable Spirit was emblematically expressed by an Eel t The having lived to a good old Age, by dead Raven | . A reformed Debauchee, by Bull tied to a wild Fig-tree \*\*. A gluttonou Person, by a Scare-fish \*+. A Murdere brought to Repentance by Punishment, b a Fork-fish taken with a Hook \*‡. The Article, Philemon, might be infinitely in larged, and the Analogies in every Instance distinctly noted and explained; but it would take up too much of our Time, and is the less needful, after what has been alread discoursed of the general Nature of the Hieroglyphic Writing.

You may proceed in your own Metho (faid I) Hortensius; I cannot but say I coul have some Pleasure in having these seven Analogies pointed out to me; but perhat this is not the place for them: And I woul not give you more Trouble than is need sary, or divert you too much from the principal Scope of our Inquiry.

\* Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 236

† Ibid. Hierog. 65.

‡ Lib. II. Hierog. 103.

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<sup>\*\*</sup> Ibid. Hierog. 77.
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<sup>\*‡</sup> Ibid. Hierog. 112.

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THE Emblems (refumed he) I have hitherto mentioned, might be applicable to many different Persons, as relating all along more to the Character concerned, than the particular Subject of it. Persons however of more eminent Rank and Confideration with the Egyptians, had, we must suppose, sthe Reason of the Thing required, their more distinguishing and felf-appropriated Emblems affigned them. Thus, Taauhus, or the Egyptian Mercury, is by Santhoniatho faid to have expressed the Cares and Vigilance of Magistracy, in the Person of Saturn, " by an Image of him with " four Eyes, two before, and two behind, " as likewife two closed, and two open, in "his Head; and with four Wings, two "expanded, and two lying flat upon his "Shoulders: The Symbol of the Eyes " fignifying, that Saturn in the Admini-" ftration of his Authority, was often to fee, "what he appeared not to fee; and often to wink at what he manifestly faw-"That of the Wings; that Saturn was often to have Intelligence of what paf-" fed, even where he could not be pre-" fent at it; and often to feem ignorant " of what he was nevertheless fully ac-"quainted with \* ". I am aware, Philemon, you may think this Representation a little

<sup>\*</sup> Euseb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. I. p. 39. Ed. Par.

little too refined for so early an Age as that of Taautus. I do not therefore infift has on its being litterally his Invention; (for I am fensible he has the Credit of many Inventions ascribed to him, which were none of his) but mention it only as an Illustretion of the more confined personal Hieroglyphic. Possibly, the Symbol of Mer. cury himself, which was that of the Dog was of an earlier Introduction, as it is a much fimpler Instance in the same Kind: " Not " fays Phitarchupon this Occasion, that the " Egyptians esteemed Mercury to resemble " a Dog in any proper Sense of the Word " but their Meaning here was only to apr ply to him the guardian, watchful, and " distinguishing Quality of that Animal," founded upon certain analogous Circum. stances of his Historic Character +. Is the fame way of thinking, we find that Pan, one of the Companions of Ofiris in his foreign Expedition, was represented by a Goat 1; as was Jupiter, the Father of Ofiris.

† Ου γαρ του πυνα κυριως Ερμπυ λεγουσι, αλλα του ζωου το Φυλακλικου, και το αγρυπυου, και το Φιλοσοφου, γυωσει και αγνοια του Φιλου και το εχ-Βρου οριζουτος, ή Φησιν ο Πλατων, τω λογιωτατω των Θεων συνοικειουσι Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 355.

† Γραφουσι δε δη και γλυφουσι οι ζωγραφα και οι αγαλματοποιοι του Πανός, καταπερ Έλληνες, τογαλμα αιγοπροσωπου, και τραγοσκελεα. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 46.

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<sup>†</sup> Απουι τω αμαθεσ ενικοδειλου, Οί. p. 37 s ‡ The

d, p. 226

Offris, by a Ram \*; and Typhon, his profiled Adversary and Murderer, by an Ass. Crocodile, and a River or Sea-Horse: The int, as Plutarch's Remark in the case is, the most stupid of all the tamer Animals; the other two, the hercest and most misdievous of all the wilder ones +. For the original Grounds of the two Symbols of Jupiter and Pan, Antiquity has not, that know of, fatisfactorily explained them to B. Our great Countryman Sir Isaac Newin is of opinion, that the one only fignifed Jupiter to have conquered Libya, a Country abounding with Sheep ‡; and the other, that Pan was a Person much adifted to Dancing ||. But from the After-Application we meet with both of the Symbol and Character of Pan in the Mythologic Ages, I have been fometimes tempted to suspect, that the Goat, in his Case, had, even from the first Use of it, a quite other Intendment than is here represented; and either fignified him to have been of a

\* Κριοπροσωπου τωγαλμα του Διος σοιευσι Αι-

yor los. Ibid. cap. 42.

† The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amend-

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<sup>†</sup> Απουεμουσίν αυτώ (τω Τυφωνι) των ήμερων ζωων τη αμαθεστατον ουου, των δε αγριων Επριωδεστατα, υπουδείλου, και του σοταμιον ίππου. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 371.

very falacious Complexion, or the Fath of a very numerous Offipring \* Su however being the general Practice of the Egyptians, " to fignify as well Men, "Things, under certain fenfible Emblems you will eafily conceive how Ofiris, t great Father of Agriculture to the Eg tians, should come to be represented them, as we find he was, under the I gure of a Bull or an Ox, the very Anin he had first made use of for this valual Purpose +: As also how Is should be f nified by the Figure of a Cow 1; both the part she had contributed towards Ag culture in the first distinction of Grain; likewise more emphatically, 'tis probab for her having taught either the first, or more improved Use of the Cow's Milk : Whi

\* Ότευ δε εινεκα τοιουτου γραφουσι αυτου Πανα) ου μοι ήδιου εστι λεγειν. Herod. Lib. cap. 46. Του δε τραγου απεθεωσαν δια το γεντι μοριου το δε μοριου του σωματος το της γενεσεως αι τιμασθαι φασι ωροσηκουτως, ώς αν ύπαρχου αρχευου της των ζωων φυσεως Diodor. Sic. Bib. 1 P. 55.

Τους δε ταυρους τους ίερους τιμασθαι παραπ σιως τοις Θεοις, Οσιριδος καταδειζαντος, άμα δε δια την της γεωργιας χρειαν, άμα δε και δια των ευρουτών τους καρπους την δοζαν ταις τουτών γεσιαις παραδοσιμού γεγουεναι τοις μεταγενεστ εις άπαντα του αιώνα. Diodor. Sic. Bib. Lib P. 79.

† Vid. Plut. de If. & Of. p. 372.

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collect from one of those Dramatic Cemonies we were speaking of, in the Etian Religion, instituted, I persuade welf, in honor of this Invention, which mentioned by the Sicilian Historian, to we been practifed in a certain Island of Nile; where the Priests, as he tells appointed to this Service, "filled every Day three hundred and fixty Veffels with Milk, near one of the supposed Places of Interment of Ofiris and Ifis, lamenting, and calling upon their Names \* ". nd now, Philemon, we are upon the ve-Confines of a Symbolic Theology. Figure of a Bull, as we fay, having in the Egyptian Emblem of their beloved fris, a Proportion at least of the regard to bimself, would, even in his Life-

Ενιοι δε Φασι ουχ εν ΜεμΦει χεισθαι τα σωμαπουτών των θεων, αλλ' επι των όρων της Αιθιομι και της Αιγυπθου, κατα την εν των Νειλω νηπειμενην μεν ωρος ταις καλουμεναις Φιλαις σηπει δε τουτου δεικνυουσιν εν τη νησω ταυτη διαμενουπον τε ταφου κατεσκευασμενου Οσιριδι, και τας
πιας γαρ καθ' έκαστην ήμεραν γαλακθος ωληρούν
πωρος τουτοις ταχθεντας ίερεις, και θρηνειν ανακαπροος το των θεων ονοματα. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib.
19. Τους δε ταυρους τους ίερους, τον τε ονομαζοπατιν, και τον Μνευιν, Οσιριδι καθιερωθηναι,
πουτους σεδεσθαι καθαπερ θεους, κοινή καταδειχθηπασιν Αιγυπθιοις. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 19.

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time, doubtless, devolve upon this his privileged Substitute. But when, after his Death, he came to be Deified, the Matter foon took a much higher turn: What before was grateful Respect, now grew un into Religious Reverence. His Symbol was no longer that of a Man, but a God; till. by degrees, the Devotion of weak Mindsever inclining towards a fenfible Prefence, and Ofiris having left nothing fenfible behind him, upon Earth at least, but his Benefactions, and his Symbol, the visible Reprefentation took place of the invisible Demon; and what had been for some time the standing Expression of his Character became at length the favourite Instrument of his Adoration. You see, Philemen, even yet, tho' there was too much of Religion in the Case, there was nothing of Mystery; the Matter was neither more, nor less, than what the most vulgar Romanist practife at this very Day, when to do ho nor to a supposed tutelar Saint, they ignorantly fall proftrate before his Image. But tho' the Foundation of this Symbolworship was not originally laid in any mysterious Speculation, it gave birth however in time to a great deal; inafmuch as the Historic Gods of the Egyptians were by no means the only ones, who had the Privilege of this Representation by Animals; but the Notion was by degrees extended to all their

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their various System of Physical Divinities. In the mean while, is it not, think you, the more natural Progress of things in this, as in all parallel Subjects, from what is easy and obvious, into what is abstruct, and recondite, than, on the other hand, from difficult and mysterious, into simple, and familiar Principles?

UNDOUBTEDLY (said I) Hortenfius. Tis one of the most self-evident Things imaginable. I am really surprised you should ask me the Question. No Man in his sober Senses can think otherwise.

You are too apt (returned he) to judge of other Peoples way of Thinking by your own. What fay you to Mr. Shuckford's Authority in this point? He is both a Scholar, and a Man of Sense: and yet he is clearly against us in this whole matter; and has publickly declared for the direct contrary Opinion. But this is not the only Instance in which this Author has sacrificed Probability to System, and given up Nature, in order to serve, as he imagines, the Cause of Revelation.

But how (I interrupted) is that at all interested in the matter we are considering? It seems to me a mere Point of Antiquity, or Curiosity, in which modern Systems of Belief

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Belief at least can have no manner of Concern.

I WILL explane this Affair to you, (fair he) Phileman. You know it is a favorit Topic with many of our Divines to depre ciate Reason, the better to establish the Necessity of what is called Faith with them Now nothing can cast a greater Reflection upon Reason, than to suppose that so wil and extravagant a Doctrine as that of th Emblematic Theology had its immediat Rise from this Quarter; or that the original nal Practice of Brute-Worship in Egypt wa a Refult of pretended Speculation, and more refined Philosophy. Accordingly our Author would persuade us to think that the Origin of paying Religious Wor ship before fome Animal Representation in Egypt was fo far from having any Re ference to Ofiris, or the other Histori Deities of the same Age, (for they had a of them, I would observe here once for all, their confecrated Symbols, as well as he that it was a Practice with the Egyptians Ages before the Deification of these Heroe was fo much as thought of. Nay, tha the very Grounds of their applying religiou Symbols to their Hero-Deities were laid in a preestablished Usage of this kind with regard to their natural ones. " The first Step (fays he) the Egyptians took, after er they

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they worshipped the Luminaries of Hea-" ven, was to dedicate forme living Creature to each particular Deity, and to worship that Deity before such Creature, or the Image of it \*." If you ask, how they fell into this Practice, which to our Apprehension seems, it is confessed, odd and bumour some, the Answer is, "Their Speculation and Philosophy led them into "it." When had they deferted the fure Guidance of Tradition, "they quickly fell from one Fancy to another." And having once thought the Lights of Heaven to he the Gods that governed the World, " they in a little time apprehended these Gods to have made the living Creatures of the Earth more or less Partakers of their Divinity and Perfections," in order n convey a Knowledge of themselves m Mankind +. I know not, Philemon, had our Author lived in Egypt in the Ages we are speaking of, in bow little a time he might have come to apprehend this; but Iam fure it would have cost me a great hal to do it: fince, in the Light it is here placed in, it appears, I must confess, ome, one of the least obvious Apprehenions imaginable. For, as the Question is well put by the learned Writer himself, P 2

<sup>\*</sup> Shuckford's Con. Vol. II. p. 278, 279. †Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

( 198 )

" of what use can the Figure of a Beast be, to raise in Mens Minds Ideas of the fidereal Deities." Or, it on the other hand the Passage from Luminary to Brute-Worship be indeed to quick an one, as was just now represented, it will ever be a Desideratum with me to conceive, whence it came to pass, that no other Nation we are acquainted with besides the Egyptians, how much soever it might rival them in one of these Articles of their Idolatry, ever did so in the other? But their Philosophy, it seems, was as singular in this Case, as their Practice; neither of which could enter into the head of any People but themselves,

It was a kind of local Infatuation (faid I) I suppose, with them; a Distemper of their Soil and Climate; a Species of Delusion which could only have its Production in this chosen Land of abject Superstition. Or, possibly, after all, it was some Insuence of their Stars themselves: some singular Aspect of these Luminaries, which never took place but this once, and that only within the Horizon of Egypt, that gave birth to this wonderful Phænomenon; and by certain secret Intimations to their Worshippers suggested this unusual Mode of their own Idolatry.

YOU Egyptian talked at fecret Co I believe, behalf of its profes vou hit c in the T fancy yo of her Complin Trouble the mean better the the Cour Matter, Brute-W It had it from the above all instead o " that t

<sup>\*</sup> Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279.

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You would have made an excellent Egyptian, (returned he) Philemen, to have alked at this rate of occult Reasons, and ferret Communications. You have bere, Ibelieve, struck a Note of Refinement in behalf of Animal-Worldip beyond any of is professed Apologists in Antiquity. Had you hit off fuch a Defence of it in Egypt, in the Times of this Superfittion, Lalmost fancy you would have had a whole College of her Priests to wait on you with the Compliment of Initiation, even without the Trouble of its preparatory Ceremonies. In the mean while, I, who love Nature much better than Visions, are for acquitting both the Country and the Stars of Egypt in this Matter, and for tracing out the Source of Brute-Worthip in the Egyptians themselves. It had its Derivation, I make no question, from the Practice of their common, and above all their personal Hieroglyphics: and, inlead of faying with Mr. Shuckford here, "that the Use of Animals amongst the " Egyptians for Images of their Deities "introduced an analogous Practice in their "Pictures of Men \*;" I would fay rather (and with much greater Probability, I think) "that their Hieroglyphical Manner of re-" presenting to one another the Persons and "Characters of Men gave Rife to an ana-" logous

<sup>†</sup> Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 308, 309.

( 110 )

" logous Usage with relation to their Gods." For, to mention, Philemon, forme few of their Representations in each kind-Was it not a much more easy and natural Thought, for them to fignify Ofiris, the Father of Tillage, by the Figure of a Bull-Or Isis, who taught them either the first Use, or the Improvement of Cows Milk by that of a Cow-Or Mercury, the faithful Friend, and prudent Counsellor of them both, by the Watchfulness and Sagacity of the Dog? - Than it was " to fancy the " Hawk paid a natural Homage to the Sun, " and was an apposite Symbol of him, be-" cause it is the only Bird, which can in-" dure a strong Light without Pain; can " foar directly against the Sun-beams; and " is observed sometimes to fly in a supine " Posture, looking freely and steadily to-" wards Heaven, and towards the Eye of " him who fees all Things \*?"-Or, to think of representing the Moon by a Cat,

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> Τω Ψοκιλου, Δι δε εν τ και πλατυ και μαρακι Ι. & Οſ.

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† Τα μητρος ωδί πρωτων κα λημη ου Φα cap. 45.

<sup>\*</sup> Αιγυπίοι του ίερακα Απολλωνι τιμάν εοικασι' και προσηκειν τω θεω, Φασι' όρωσι γαρ ίερακες ορυθων σανιστως Βλεποντες, και δυσωπουμενοι ήκιστα' πορειαν τε την ανωτατω ίασι, και αυτους ή θεια Φλοξ λυπει ουδεν' και αναπαλιν μεν τοι πετεσθαι τον ίερακα οι ιδοντες Φασιν ώς εξ ύπλιας νεοντα' ενθα τοι και προς του ουρανον όρα, και προς τον παντα εφορωντα, αλλα ελευθερως και ατρεπίως ό αυτος' Ælian. Hist. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 13.

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" because of the spotted Skin of this Animal; " its imploying itself mostly in the Nightstime; and having the Pupil of its Eye "inlarged, or contracted, according to the " Moon's Increase or Wane\*?"—Or again, to image the fame Luminary by a Dog, " because the young ones of this Species " are blind thirteen Days from their Birth, which is the exact Number of the Days in a Year, on which the Moon gives "absolutely no Light +?" I might go on to instance in the Rams being held facred to the Sun, as the great Lord of Life, " from " its being observed to rest the six Winter "Months of the Year, upon its left Side, " and the other fix" (the Season in which both the animal and vegetable World is in is most prosperous and flourishing State) "upon its right; changing its Posture pre-"cifely at the time of the autumnal and

Τω δε αιλουρω αινιτίοντες την σεληνην δια το τοικιλου, και νυκτουργου, και γουιμου του Αηριου.—

εί δε εν τοις ομμασιν αυτου Κοραι ωληρουσθαι μεν τοι ωλατυνεσθαι δοκουσιν εν ωανσεληνω, λεπίυνεσθαι δε τοι μαραυγειν εν ταις μειωσεσι του αστρου Plut. de II. & Of. p. 376.

<sup>†</sup> Τα σκυλακια τυφλα τικτεται, και ουκ όρα της μπρος ωδίνος προελθοντα, και τρισκαιδεκα ήμερων των πρωτων κατειληπίαι τω παθει τωδε, όταν και ή σεληνη ου φαινει νυκίωρ Ælian. Hift. Animal. Lib. X. αρ. 45.

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« vernal Equinoxes \*." Or, in the Ape being confectated to the Moon, as " havin a natural Sympathy with her; in " much as at the time of her Congress with " the Sun," the part of her Period in which with respect to the Earth she is totally dark " the Male Ape becomes blind; refue ee its Food; and hangs down its Head to " wards the Ground, as regretting th " Absence of the Moon's Light; the Fe " male Ape at the fame Season, besides a " this, fuffering a peculiar and periodical " Infirmity of her own +."—Or, I migh take notice to you of-But the mat ter is, I dare fay, already too evident, t need any farther Illustration.

\* Ακουω του κριού το ζωού εξ μπυσου τωυ χειμεριώ τατων κατα της αριστεράς τλευρας κεισθαι και κα θευδείν, όταν αυτον αιρεί και περιλαμβανει υπνος α πο δε της εαρινης ισημεριας εμπαλιν αναπανεσθαι κατα δε της δεξιας κεισθωι. Ælian. Hift, Anima

Lib. X. cap. 18.

Τ Σεληνην γραφοντες (Αιγυπίοι) κυνοκεφαλουζα γραφουσι' επειδη το ζωου τουτο συμπαθειαν τινα πρ דחט דחה שבסט סטיםססי בא חסמדם סדמש שמף ביו דש שבוף της ωρας η σεληνη συνοδευουσα ηλιω αφωτιστος γεπ ται, τοτε ο μεν αρσην χυναχεφαλος ου βλεπει, ου erties, apperais de eis int you vereuxas, xagans werder ins vernous apragno i de Sureia peta i פון ספסט, אמו דמודת דש מפספטו שמס צבוי, בדו לב אמו ב The idias Quesus aimasorran Horap. Hierog. Lib I. Hierog. 14.

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As much a Mystic (interpoled I) Horinsus, as you was pleased just now in Railery to paint me to yourself, believe me, I
in very ready to descend with you out of
the airy Regions of Fancy into the safer
Paths of plain Nature; and can without
ifficulty give up both my Hypothesis, and
initiation, to enter into such a rational and
initiationy Sentiment of Things, as you
have here laid before me.

THERE is (refumed he) this farther Argument for the prior Date of Heroic Symbols to Physical; that the first natural Divinities of the Egyptians, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were all of them Objects capable of a direct Representation to Sense by way of Picture, or puparois of the Things them-Alves: which, as it is in itself the most obvious kind of Representation of any Obict, would doubtless take place with the Egyptians, wherever it was practicable: Creumstance, which must have precluded, it should feem, the Use of Symbols with regard to their natural Gods, till such time s, from the Application of them in the Worship of their civil Gods, the emblematic Turn of Thinking in Religion was grown to be the popular and prevailing one. And indeed, to shut up this Subject, Philemon, had the Symbolic Worship of Nature been. introduced in Egypt, as Mr. Shuckford every

every where maintains it was, before either the symbolic, or the proper Worship of he antient Heroes, I question much, whether this latter Species of her Idolatry had every been heard of. For it seems to me a little unlikely, that, after the Egyptians had acquired such an exquisite Sagacity in Thinking, as to be able to represent to themselves as we may say, the whole Creation in Emblem, they should find any Temptation to idolize such comparatively low and humble Efforts of human Genius, as the Invention of the first simpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

THE true Rise therefore of Animal-Worship in Egypt was, doubtless, of a much humbler Kind than Mr. Sbuckford has represented. " It was originally only the "Worship of the antient Heroes of the " Egyptians, exalted by them after their " Decease to the Character of Gods, thro' " the Medium of that particular Animal-" Representation, which had been used in " Hieroglyphic Writing to distinguish their " feveral Persons as Men." But the matter, however it might begin, did not, we find, rest here; for the Idea of a certain Divine Presence having once grown into an established Connexion with the Image or Portrait of a certain Animal, it was easy for Superstition or Artifice to improve upon

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this Hint; and to have it believed, that the God, who was thus conceived of as myfically present to his Worshippers in the dead Image, might fometimes vouchfafe to become substantially so in the living Animal in Kind: a Notion, which accordingly premiled in time with the Egyptians to fuch in extravagant degree, that there was scarce Species of Animals in their Country, fome Individual whereof had not Divine Honors paid it, as the Temple of some or other of their Gods \*. One of the most elebrated of these Brute-Divinities was the this: " A God," as Lucian humorously describes him, " from out of the Herd +;" Or, in other Words, a Bull confecrated to Offis; whose first Distinction from his Fellows was probably nothing more, than his superior Size or Beauty ‡; though it was afterwards improved into his having a supernatural Conception, together with leveral Mystic Enfigns of a Divine Charac-

\* Αιγυπίοι δε θρητκευουσι περισσως τα τε αλλα πει τα ίρα, και δη και ταδε: Αιγυπίος ου μαλα θημιδης εστι, τα δε εοντα σφι απαυτα ίρα υενομισται. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 65.

† Erri de o Amis et ayenns Seos. Lucian. de

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ter, to the Number, in Elian's Time of twenty-nine: in virtue whereof, he was constituted not only, what we fornetimes find him called by the Egyptians, (and what alone, I perfuade my felf, was their first Idea of him) " the beautiful Image " of the Soul of Ofiris ";" But, by a full higher Privilege, the Image of the greatest part of their natural Deities at the fame time + But these, Philemon, I pass over at present, both, as they belong rather to the subsequent part of our Inquiry; and as they were, past question, Appendages to the original Superstition of the Apis; a mere Contrivance of the Egyptian Priesthood

\* Του Απιν ως ευμορφού ειχούα χρη νομίζειν της Οσιρίδος ψυχης · Plut. de Is. & OL p. 362.

Τους Αιγυπίοις εναργεστατος ο Απις ειναι πιστευεται γινεται δε εκ Βοος εις ήν ουρανιον σελας εμπεσον σπορας αιτιον εστι τω προειρημενω—σημεια δε αυτου και γνωρισματα εννεά και εικατι ειναι (Αιγυπίοι) Φασιν ότου δε των αστερων έκαστον σημειον δια συμβολον αινιτίεται την Φυσιν, Αιγυπίοι πεκμηριωσαι έκανοι και γαρ τοι και την ανοδον την του Νειλου υποδηλούν σημειον Φασι, και το του κοσμου σχημα άλλ οψει τι και συμβολον, ώς εκείνοι λεγουσιν, όπερουν αινιτίεται του Φωτος είναι το σκοτις πρεσβυτερον και το μηνοειδές της σεληνης κατηγορει σχημα συνιεντι μερος αλλο και αλλα δε επι τουτος αλλων τε αινιγματα, βεδηλοις τε και αμαθεσιν το στοριας θεοπρεπους ουκ ευσυμβολα ταυτα οφθαλμοις στα Είιαη. Hift. Animal. Lib. Πι cap 10.

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for, I should observe to you, he was not lways supposed to be present in Egypt) no their own hands, and to have the making, as occasion might offer, of one such chief Objects of Worship in their country,

An n a very artial Contrivance too, (aid I) Hortenfus, for the Ends of Prieftly ambition and Emplument; as we have but to good Proof in the History of modern superstition; whose Masters, you know, throughout great part of Christendom, have alopted this God-making Policy of the old Egiptian Hierarchs; which they accordingly practise frequently with equal Impudence, and Success, in the Face of devout Maltitudes, who, from an aweful Sense of their high Prerogative in this matter, are insaved into a blind Submission to their Authority in every other.

Before we have finished our present subject, (returned he) Philemon, you will find this is by no means the only Instance of Plagiarism in modern Superstition, from antient. Priesterast, it should seem, was a Scince very soon brought to its Persection in the World. It is observed of Arts in general, you know, that they never fail to slourish under a proper Incouragement: a Happiness,

piness, which the Art we are speaking of in particular could never want, as far backwards in History as there was any such thing as devout Weakness in human Nature. It carries indeed, in distinction from all other Arts, its immediate Recompence in its own hands: fince, whoever has Address enough to cheat People of their Liberties and their Possessions by applying himself to their Fears is fare of being a fufficient Gainer by his Profession. But, to return from the political Application of Brute-Worship, to the original Institution of it; for the precife Æra of these Animal-Gods in Egypt, we have little more than Conjecture to trust to in this matter. The Egyptian Chronology, you may remember, feems to have determined the time of the Confecration of the Apis to the Reign of Ceachos, the tenth Successor in the Thinite Government. If the Apis was, as I am much inclined to believe, the first Instance of a Brute-God amongst the Egyptians, the time here fixed for his Confecration falls in, as I obferved to you in our last Conversation, with the Age of Suphis at Memphis; whose general Character may make it not improbable, that he was the Author of this Fancy. Whether Suphis was more a Devotionalist, or a Politician, I know not; but he had, we find, a Head much turned to Religious Subjects: and, from the extraordinary.

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with the Gods, must have understood, no doubt, beyond any of his Contemporaries; the Modus of their Divine Presence.

Which was the Secret, (faid I) I suppose, he delivered down to his Successors in Religious Politics in that Sacred Book you mentioned him to have been the Author of; a Depositum, it seems, whereby his Memory became so singularly indeared to them, that they could not let it pass through their hands to After-Ages without entering a particular Testimony of their Obligations to him upon this account.

And yet perhaps (returned he) the Sea cret, Philemon, was all this while nothing more, than that of humoring the Biass of popular Weakness; submitting to govern the Multitude upon their own Terms; and laving them to the Impressions of a false species of Religion, as thinking them not fit to be trusted with the Principles of a truer one. I inquire not into the Merits of such a way of Thinking; all I oblerve is, that it seems to have been the general Sentiment of more knowing Antiquity in the Point. And of this kind, I make no question, was the Egyptian Brute-Worship: not originally a Deduction of their Philosophy; (for then the Greeks, who

who learnt to Philosophize in Egypt, wood have fallen into the fame Practice) but mere local Accommodation to vulgar Pro judices; which, when they had taken to deep Root to be removed without hazard as might be apprehended, to better Things the Learned, as their manner feems to have been in all parallel Cases, endeavoured to just tify as well as they could; and to give them the best Colorings they were capable of For indeed the Belief of Animal-Gods in Egypt was an Error of too great Confequence to the Priefthood, not to deserve all the Countenance they could give it; nor need we doubt, but the Wisdom of this Order would find fomething to fay for itself upon fo interesting an Occasion. And here, a I take it, came in first the Philosophy of reprefenting, as Mr. Shuckford well expresse the matter for us, " the Gods to have made " the living Creatures upon Earth more or " less Partakers of their Divinity and Per-" fections, in order to convey a Know-" ledge of themselves to Mankind:" Notion, which, as the same learned Writer remarks, " Men of the nicest Inquiry pre-" tended to support by many curious Ob-" fervations upon particular Kinds of Ani-" mals ":" infomuch, that Porphyry affores us, it came in time, upon this Principle, to be afferted by them, " as from a more "intimato

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<sup>\*</sup> Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

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intimate Knowledge of Divine Matters, that some Animals had so near a relation to certain of the Gods, as to be even dearer to them than Mankind itself; as was (they maintained) the case of the Hawk in respect to the Sun, from a supposed Analogy of its Temperament to that of the Sun's Body \*."

This was a Strain of Refinement indeed (aid I) Hortensius. But after all I do not much wonder to find the human Species in Egypt sunk so low in the Estimation of their spiritual Masters, considering that they conversed with Mankind altogether in their spibles; and sound them capable of being made Tools to their separate Interest and Ambition, by entering into such abject and illiberal Sentiments of Things.

THE standing so high (resumed he) in the Favor of Heaven, as in the Instance here mentioned, was the Lot only of some sew privileged Animals: or rather, probably, was an occasional Compliment in the hands of the Priesthood, to be bestowed R

Εχ της ωερι το θειον συντροφιας χατελαβου τισι των θεων ωροσφιλη των ζωων τινα μαλλου των ανθεων ως ήλιω ίεραχχ, συμπασαν μεν την φυσιν Καίματος εχονία, και ωνευματος, και ζην μεν επι τλειονα ετη' Porph. de Abstinentia, Lib, IV. &ct. q.

here and there, upon certain special Emer gencies. However this might be, the ge neral Plea for Animal-Worship, as foon the Learning of Egypt had ingaged in the Patronage of it, was, as has been faid the relation which the several kinds of " confecrated Animals had to some or other " of the Gods, in quality of Emblems, o " sensible Representations, of their divin " Powers and Properties: " feveral alledge Examples whereof having been occasional produced, whilst we were discoursing large of the Hieroglypbic-Science, I shall presume upon this matter, Philemon, already sufficiently illustrated to you. Bu when, upon the Principle here supposed the Number of Divine Symbols was so much increased in Egypt, that the precise Reafons of them in each particular Instance were in a manner endless to be distinctly infifted on; and when moreover the general Subject-Matter of the Egyptian Theology itself was, in a Course of Time and Speculation, become more refinedly Philasopbical; a still higher way of Thinking was authorized in the Point; which at once apologized for every possible Case of Animal-Superstition, without descending to the more intricate Minutiæ of any. Thus it was maintained, " that the Worthip " feemingly paid to particular confecrated " Animals did not terminate in the Anice mals

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" mals themselves, as a superficial or pro-" fane Observer might imagine; but had for its ultimate Object the Divine Power, " which actuates all things, as displaying itfelf in those Animals \*: for that it was not in Man alone that the Divinity offerdiffelf to our Observation, but in almost every kind of animated Nature; where-" fore, it was thought good to take in every " fuch Nature into the System of Deity +." Nay, it was even afferted, as we find in Plutarch, " that Animals were the most perfect and natural Specula in which the human Mind could contemplate the God-"head: inafmuch as being indued with "Life, and Sense, and Self-motion, and " having a Faculty of diffinguishing diffe-"rent Objects from each other for their "own Use and Preservation, they were to " be conceived of as fo many feveral Streams " issuing from the great common Fountain "of Life and Intelligence: and had there-" fore a much nearer Affinity to the Di-"vine Being, than any Images of human R 2 " Device,

Την επι ωαντων δυναμιν του θεου δια των συνομων ζωων, ων έκαστου του θεου ωπρεσχεν, εθρησκευσαν Porph. de Abs. Lib. IV. Sect. 9.

<sup>†</sup> Εγνωσαν ώς ου δι' αυθρωπου μουού το Θειου διηλθευ, αλλα σχεδου δια ωαντων των ζωων, διο εις
την θεοποιαν ωαρελαβου ωαν ζωου. Porph. de Abi,
ρ. 154.

( 134 )

Device, the uninformed Workmanship

for its islationate Object the Divine Power, In Confequence of which way of think ing (faid I) our Apologists for Brute-Wor thip might with fill greater Reason have demanded Divine Honors to their bun Per fons; and have pronounced themselves to be in right, what they were too much in ad fo many Gods to the People: unless indeed they were apprehensive, the People imight upon the fame Principles commence Con as well as their Masters; or were after all honeftly confcious to themselves that, what ever the Argument might fetan to prove for them, they could indeed have but lie the Title to a Divine Character, who had fo far debased the human one, as to encer feriously into the Defence of such a ridiculous Theology. oles to bovisonor so istuing from the great common Fountain

For the Confequences of Opinions (returned Hortenfius) People are by no ment

Αφαλητεου ουν ου τουτα τιμωντας, αλλα δια τουτα το Θειου, ώς ευεργεστερων εσοπίρων, και Φυσιι φεγουσταν ή δε ζωσα, και βλεπουσα, κοι πυνήμις αρχην εξ έαυτης εχουσα, και γνωσιν οικειων και μικορόν εκ του Φρονουντος όπως κυβερνώτου το τι τυμπαν' όθεν οδ χαιρον εν τουτοις εικάζεται το Θυσ, ι χαιλκειοις παι Αιθτικός δημιουργημασιν. Plut. de Il & Of. p. 382.

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ways true to them; inasmuch as they my either hot fee, or not acknowledge which is more to our present Purpose, of want thent. For this was certainly le Case of our Egyptian Apologists in the ubject before us They framed their Hy othelis with an Bye to a particular Point my; and therefore pursued it no farther han the Interests of that Point required: , in other Words, as has been intimated love, they found their Countrymen, for leasons already mentioned, actually ingaged the Worship of pertain Brute-Animals. ad then instituted a kind of Mock-Philophy, which should authorize such a Worgits rife from their Practice, and not their holice from their Speculation. And here, Philemon, at parting with the Subject of he Sacred Animals, I may observe to you, hat the Doctrine of the Metempfychofis, apposed by the Greek Writers a Native of gypt, is by many People believed to owe s Birth to this Article of her Theology. adeed the learned Vossius is of opinion, that was a Corruption of some traditionary lotices in Antiquity concerning a general esurrection \*. But, as he rests his Opinion

<sup>\*</sup>Imo non animas modo superesse post anortem, minista gentium suit : sed apud multas etiam require suere de nova cum corporibus conjunctione, sum Resurrectionem dicimus. Sed scede cam corpuperunt

nion here upon mere Authority withor Reasons, we are certainly at liberty to differ from him, if a more probable Account of the matter may be found to offer itself as, I must own, I am inclined to this there may yet be given of it, than either the Accounts hitherto mentioned. What there Reason, or Revelation, first taughten the Belief of the Soul's Immortality either way the Notion itself appears to have been a very antient one in the World.

As, without any thing supernatural the Case, (interrupted I) we may well suppose it must have been: both, as the Dotrine of a future Existence is a very important Engine of civil Policy; and as it is the same time an Hypothesis extreme flattering to private Interest; a kind of a tural Dictate of the human Heart. The Love of Being as such, and Desire of Continuance, is inseparable from every continuance, is inseparable from every continuance, is inseparable from every continuance.

ruperunt in illam, quam dixere μετεμφυχωση, quadicas transanimationem: item μετεμσωματωση, left migrationem de corpore in corpus: etiam wally σιων, sive regenerationem. Quæ non Pythago orum duntaxat, sed multarum etiam gentium opi suit, & admodum dissitarum. De Egyptis, te Herodotus; a quibus etiam id hausisse Pythagora idem tradit. Voss. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Lib. p. 70, 71.

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celing with the humblest Instrument of a Ambition: and having once learnt the safe of Human Nature in this Point from infelf, we cannot imagine he would long at a Loss to make use of it in other cople.

In order to which End (faid Hortenfius) Business would certainly be, to represent Mens Thoughts the State of their future histence under such particular kinds of nible Images, as he should conceive most reable to the popular Relish in his Coun-Now, do but suppose, Philemon, our atesman here to be an Egyptian one, and will, I dare fay, be of opinion with me, ata better Mode of Representation in the he before us could hardly have been deled, than that of a Metempsychosis; a Nom, which, besides the Countenance it ight receive from the Superstition of the optians, as above mentioned, had a fingu-Accommodation to their national Usage Hieroglyphic Writing: for, whereas in course of this Practice they had been sustomed from the most distant Antiquity Substitute Animals for personal Characters the Living, they would eafily, we may agine, enter into a Sentiment of Things, hich should represent these Animals as the fional Residence of the Dead: this being by to conceive of Death, as changing the F.mble-

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Pythago ntium opi pptiis, te Pythagora Idol, Lib. Emblematic State of Affairs with Mankind into a real one; and allotting them that particular Province of Action in a literal Sense, in which they had acted throughout Life in a figurative one \*. But be this Philemon, as it may—I have now led you through the three principal Stages of the Egyptian Idolatry—The Worship of the

It must be owned that; as Herodetus represent this matter to us, there feems to be nothing of moral Designation in it, (the only View in which it can be supposed to answer the Ends of civil Government) fince according to his Account of it the States of all Men after Death are supposed the same-Πρωτοι δε και τουδε του λογον Αιγυπίοι ειρι ειποίες ώς ανθρωπου ψυχη αθανατος εστι του σωματος δ καταφθικοντος, ες αλλο ζωόν αιει γενομενον εσφυετκ επεαν δε ψεριέλθη ψαντα τα χερσαια, και τα 92λασσια, και τα σίπνα, αυτις ες ανθρωπου σωμα γικ MENON ECGUNEIN. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 123. But when it is confidered, that Philosophy in Egypt wi too good a Friend to Legislation, not to turn every Point of Doctrine to some political Account; that the Doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato, (both of whom were for fome time under an Egyptian Tutorage and who, as Philosophers, had a nearer interest in a Question of this Nature, than a mere Historian can be conceived to have had) puts a manifest Dif ference between good and bad Men in the tutur State; and moreover, that Diodorus expressly inform us that the Egyptians themselves did the same, in his Account of their Funeral Ceremonies; when this, fay, is confidered, it may incline one to susped He rodotus's Representation of the Case here to be rather inaccurate, and that the Meterspfychofis of the Ept tions was always intended to carry with it the lde of a certain moral Discipline.

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leveral Parts and Powers of Nature-Of certain deified Heroes of very remote Aniquity, the Founders of Society, and Inventers of the more necessary Arts of Lifeand of the Animals confecrated to thefe supposed Deities of both Kinds, as Emblems of their Divinity and Perfections-It remains however that I give you some short Account of that industrious Confusion of the natural with the civil part of their Theology intimated, you may remember, during our last Conference, to have been introduced amongst the Egyptians, in the successive Refinement of their Religious Politics; and which is to be confidered, I think, as the finishing Improvement of their speculative Superstition. For the Grounds of this Confusion, you are to observe, that, whereas the Foundations of their Heroical Theology were laid, as has been all along faid, in the very Depths of Barbarism, the Credenda in this System were for the most part such. as could only pass upon a rude and ignorant Generation; and were found liable to infinite Cavil and Exception, as Mankind improved in rational Thinking. The Traditions; for Example, received by the Egyptians, concerning the Birth and Genealogy of their antient Heroes-Their Course of Imployment through Life—the Particularities, and even fometimes Defects, of their PerPersons \*-Their Intrigues and Love-Ad ventures - Their Factions and mutua Violences-Above all, that most inhuman one committed by Typhon upon the Life of the Beneficent Ofiris-These were all o them Accounts of things fo little agreable to the Conceptions which more improved Reason taught the Egyptians to entertain of Divine Beings; fuch glaring Disproofs of all just Title to their Reverence in some of the chief prescribed Objects of it; as must upon Examination have brought a thorow Difgrace upon the whole System of their heroical Divinity, had not the Wisdom of the Sacred Order, ever tenacious of established Principles, found out an Expedient to screen in all these Cases the manifest Abfurdity of the literal Doctrine under the Pretext of an allegorical Interpretation. The Expedient was that of Physical Mythology: a Representing the several Powers and Pasfions of external Nature under the Idea of fo many conscious Personages; to whom, when the Mythologists had given the Names of their feveral Deified Heroes, and placed them in futable Circumstances of Relation to one another, they contrived in some measure to accommodate the intire Adven-

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<sup>\*</sup> Ίστορουσι γας Αιγυπίου του μευ Ερμην τω σωματι γενεσθαι γαλιαίκωνα, του δε Τυφωνα τη χροα συρρου, λευκου δε του Ωρου, και μελαίχοοου του Οσιευ Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 359.

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in order that all exceptionable Occurrences in their heroic or Demon-History might be capable of an innocent Explication into certain correspondent Articles of natural\*.

I ALWAYS thought (interrupted I) Hortenfius, the Powers and Passions of inanimate Nature had been first raised into conficious Personality by the mere wanton Generosity of Poets; and had received it as a voluntary Donation at the liberal hand of the Muses, instead of being thus forced into it to serve a Turn in the Politics of an intriguing Hierarchy. But methinks, I want much to know how they sustained the several Characters here assigned them; and with what Success they acquitted themselves in the different Provinces of the Heroic History.

TRUST the Egyptian Priesthood for this, returned Hortensius;) they had studied the S 2 Business

\*Τα μευ γεγουστα πραγματα εξ αρχης απετεμψαυτο, αλληγοριας και μυθους επιυοησαυτες, και τοις κοτμικοις παθημασι συίγευειαν πλασαμευοι μυστηρια κατεστησαν Αρ. Eufeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 32. Ταυτα παυτα ο Θαβιωνος παις, πρωτος των απ' αιωνος γεγουστων Φοινικων ίερο Φαυτης, αλληνορησας, τοις τε Φυσικοις και κοσμικοις παθεσιν αψαμέας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιωσι, και τελετων καταρχουσι μιζας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιωσι, και τελετων καταρχουσι φορηταις οι δε, τον τυφον αυξειν εκ παντος επινουντες, τοις αυτων διαδοχοις παρεδωσαν και τοις επεισακτοις. bid. p. 39.

( I32 )

Business of Analogies in things too much in other Subjects, not to be able to make fomething of it in this, where their Craft was fo deeply interested. What think you of refolving the whole History of Typhon and Ofiris into the fuccessive Stages of the Lunar Period? You perhaps, who are unused to Speculations of this kind, may not immediately difcern the Parallel here; but the Mythologists are ready to warrant the justness of it to a Nicety. Ofiris, they will tell you, fignifies the Orb of the Moon: and, whereas it is related of Ofiris in the Sacred Traditions that he lived, or as others will have it, reigned in Egypt twenty-eight Years, the Number of Years, fay they, anfwers to that of the Days in which the Moon completes her Revolution round the Earth. If Ofiris reigned for fome time in perfect Tranquility, the Affairs of his Government going on prosperously, and himfelf daily increasing in Reputation, this, they may observe, is fully explaned by the Moon's receiving perpetual Accessions of Light during the first half of her Course For the Faction headed by Typhon against this excellent Person, they will interpret it of that fecret Caufe in Nature which constantly diminishes the Moon's Lustre after a certain Stage of her Progress. That Of ris is faid to have been murdered by Ty thon on the seventeenth Day of the Month the

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they will account for by informing you, that the seventeenth Day of the Moon's Age is that on which her Decrease becomes first sensible to Sight \*. The Report of the Discerpsion of Ofiris's dead Body into fourteen Parts by his relentless Adversary they will resolve into the fourteen Days continuance of the Moon's monthly Wane. And whereas Typhon is faid to have distributed a Part to each of his Accomplices in the Murder of Ofiris, they will explane this of each Day of the Moon's Wane taking away. an equal Proportion of her Light. If some Traditions represented Ofiris to have been murdered not fo much by Violence, as Stratagem, Typhon having, at an Entertainment to which he had ingaged him, first artfully inticed him into a Chest of the exact Meafure of his Body, and then, by the Affistance of his Confederates, carried him out into the Sea; to this Relation, they will contend, exactly corresponds the hollowed Figure of the Moon's Orb previously to its total Difappearance +. But, I dare fay, you have full enough of this Matter.

MUCH more (said I) than I expected ould have been made of it at your first setting

<sup>\*</sup> Έδδομη επι δεκα την Οσιριδος γενεσθαι τελευτην μυθολογουσιν, εν ή μαλιστα γινεται πληρουμενη καταδηλος ή πανσεληνος Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 367. † Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 367, 368.

( 434 )

letting out upon the Comparison. Mythology, I perceive, was an excellent Defence against the Attacks of Pagan Sceptiscism. But pray what becomes of the widowed and disconfolate Isis in the Course of this Parallel She had, doubtless, too much Concern in the original History here, not to find a Correspondent Part in the Fable. I will for pole therefore, that the is one while the Earth regretting the dark and comfortless Condition of her Nights during the feeming Ablences of her Celestial Associate; and another while the Operation of that friendly Power in Nature, by which the gradual Decays of the old Moon are constantly repaired every Month in the proportionable Increases of the new one.

I SEE (said Hortensius) you would soon come, Philemon, to be a very notable Mythologist. That you may have an Opportunity, if you think sit, of improving your Talent this way, I will leave it with you to imagine how the same Piece of Sacred History in Egypt, which we have here only considered in its Accommodation to the Moon, may admit of different Explications into the Phænomena of Eclipses—The risings and settings of the Stars—The Vicissitudes of Day and Night—The annual Course of the Sun—The several Accidents of the Nile—and the Oeconomy and Procedure

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deduce of certain of the natural Fruits of the Earth \*. — Not to mention here the abstract Conceptions of Drought and Moisture—or, the two contrasted Interests of Good and Evil in the Universe, about which so much, you will recollect, was discoursed upon a former Occasion——And, when you have well settled this Matter with your-less, I shall look upon you as fully prepared to descend with me from the Consideration of False Theory, into that of False Practice in Religion in the Pagan World—of which at some other Time.

\* Εωρα γαρ τους του Ήλιου δημιουργου Φαμεης, και τα ωερι του Οσιριυ και τηυ Ισιν, και ωαντας τους ιερατικους μυθους, η εις αστερας, και τας πιτων Φαυσεις, και κρυψείς, και επιτολας, ελίτ]ομειους, η εις της Σελημης συξησεις και μειωσεις, η η του Ήλιου πορειαν, η το γε νυκθερινου ήμισ Φαιριου, ιτο ημερινου, η του γε σοταμου, και όλως σανία εις 12 Ourixa. Ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 3. c. 4. Όπω δε και τοις σολλοις και Φαρτικοις επιχειρησομη, ειτα ταις καθ' ώραν μεταδολαις του περιεχοντος, ατα τάις των καρπων γενεσεσι, και σποραίς, και αροτις χαιρόυσι, τα περι τους θεους τουτους συνοικειουντις, και λεγουτες θαπίεσθαι μεν τον Οσιριν, οτε κρυπεται της γης σπειρομενος ο καρπος, αυθις δε αναέποθαι, και αναφαινέσθαι, ότε Βλαστησέως αρχη-Plut, de Iside & Ofiride, p. 377.

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Trigital 1

A FIFTH CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS upon the Subject of False Religion.

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The Offgin and Progress of the Rite of SACRIFICE in Antiquity is particularly confidered.

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# HYDASPES, &c.

T would have been matter of fome Amusement to you, Hydaspes, to have surprized me, as of late you might easily have done, sitting down in good earnest to an Imployment, which Hortensius, you may remember, had ludicrously recommended to me in the Close of our last-related Conversation, and running over all the visionary Refinements of the ancient physical Mythology.

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As uninteresting a Subject as you may esteem this to be, I cannot say I have found it altogether an unentertaining one. The Fancy of the Mythos is many times ingeniously enough conceived, and the Execution of it carried on at an Expence of Art and Subtilty, which one is forry to think should have been no better applied. With regard to the Age, or Author of this Invention, it may be fafer, I believe, to tell you, it is of very great Antiquity, than to determine strictly of what. There is a Passage in the Phanician History of Sanchoniatho relating to this matter, which, however little it may ascertain the true Æra of Phyfiologic Allegory, gives us at least fuch an Hint concerning the great Scene of its Application amongst the Ancients, as may make it worth transcribing. He informs us, " That certain Scribes of Taau-" tus, or Mercury, had, at his Appoint-" ment, drawn up an historical Commen-" tary of the Transactions of the first Ages " of Mankind; but that a Son of Thabion, " the first Hierophant of the most ancient " Phænicians, had taken upon him to al-" legorize away the whole Series of Facts contained in that Record into certain Phy-" fical Affections of the material Universe; " and that he delivered them down in this " allegoriz'd State to his Successors in the " Conduct and Explication of the Phani-" cian

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find, represents the first Allegorizer of the facred Traditions amongst the Phanicians to have been likewise their first Hierophant, or Expounder of religious Mysteries. From whence, I think, 'tis natural to infer, that Allegories and Mysteries were probably coeval Institutions: which agrees very well with what Antiquity every where suggests to us of certain physical Speculations making a great part of what was taught in the chief Mysteries of Paganism +; and is moreover not a little countenanced by the general Reason

Ταυία δε, Φησι, ωρωίοι ωανίων υπεμνημαλισανίο είτηα Συδεκ ωαιδες Καθειροι, και σγδοος αυίων αδελφος Ασκληπιος, ώς αυτοις ενελειλατο Θεος Ταμυτος ταυτα ωντα ο Θαθιωνος ωαις, ωρωτος των απ' αιωνος γείσνουν Φοινικων ίεροφανίης, αλληίορησας, τοις τε φυσικοις και κοσμικοις ωαθεσιν αναμιξας, ωαρεδωκε τοις ορίωσι, και τελετων καταρχουσι ωροφηταις. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 39. Ed. Vig. Par.

† Omitto Eleufinam fanctam illam & augustam,

Ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ.

Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque,

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur,

Gilvestribus sapibus densa;
quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam Deorum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. Cap. 42. Davies— Καθολου γαρ υπο των αρχαιων ωσιητων και μυθοδραφων την Δημητραν γην μητερα ωροσαδορευεσθαι. Cυμφωνα δε τουτοις ειναι τα τε δηλουμενα δια των Ορφικων ωσιηματων, και τα ωαρεισαδομενα κατα τας τελετας. Diod. Sic. Lib. 3. p. 196. Ed. Rhod.

of the thing itself; it being obvious to imagine, that, at what time the Masters of the Pagan Superstition were become wife enough to be ashamed of some of the principal Doctrines of their Religion, they should be desirous to draw a Veil of Secrecy over the corresponding Services of it.

In the mean time, Hydaspes, what has been observed to you of our Uncertainty as to the real Age of mythologic Allegory shews it to have been a very early Invention in the World. Agreeably whereunto we meet either with Instances, or Intimations, of it in the most ancient Writers we have any Acquaintance with. Orpheus was unquestionably a great Master in this Art. Homer, and Hefiod, have both of them, we are fure, delivered feveral things to us in the way of Allegory, without running into the Extravagance of supposing with some of his Commentators, that the former of them in particular has scarce delivered any thing Herodotus, if I mistake not, gives fome Hints at this Usage in his Account of the Egyptian Ceremonies of Religion \*. Plato has entered an express Caveat against it, unless under much Regulation,

\* Τοισι μεν νυν αλλοισι θεοισι θυειν ύς ου δικαιευσι Αιδυπθιοι. Σεληνη δε και Διονυσω μουνοισι. — διοτι δε τους ύς εν μεν τησι αλλησι ορτησι απες υδηκασι, εν δε ταυτη θυσισι, ες ι μεν λοίος ωτρι αυτου ύπ' Αιδυπθιων λείομενος. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 47.

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ation, in the Laws of his projected Repubic \*. The Stoic Philosophers, as we learn from Cicero, were great Allegorizers in their Theology +. And in Cicere's own Age, we and Varre, one of the most ingenious and learned Romans of the time fingiving much into the fame way of thinking 1. But the Season of all others in which the Practice of Allegory in Religion most prevailed with the Pagans was in the earlier Ages of Christianity; a Season, in which all Arts were indeed wanted to support their finking Cause, and this in particular was most industriously employed by them to that purpose; the Advocates thereof in those Days constantly having recourse to their Physics, for the Solution of Objections to

\* Και τους ποιητας εγίυς τουτων αναίκας εου λογοτοιειν Ήρας δε δεσμους ύπο ύιεως, και Ήραις ου ριψεις
ίπο πατρος, μελλονίος τη μητρι τυπίομενη αμυνειν, και
βιομαχιας όσας Όμηρος πεποιηκέν, ου παραδεκίεον εις
την πολιν, ουτ εν ύπονοιαις πεποιημένας, ουτ ανευ ύποτουν. Plat. de Repub. Lib. 2. p. 378. Ed. Serran.

† Magnam molestiam suscepit, & minime necessariam, primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem quod cum facitis, illud profecto consitemini— Eos, qui Di appellantur, rerum naturas esse, non siguras Deorum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. cap. 24. Dav.

Ut in Libris Academicis dicat eam quæ ibi versatur disputationem se habuisse cum Marco Varrone, homine, inquit, omnium facile acutissimo, & sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo. August. de Civ. Dei Lib. 6. cap. 2.

† Vid. August. Lib. 6. de Civitate Dei passim,

their Paith \*. But so forced a Solution was it in itself +, and such a Disagreement was there amongst them in the Management of it ||, and, even after the utmost that could be made of it, so little better did it leave things, in any rational Estimate, than it found them ‡, that the Christian Writers have no where so great an Advantage over

\* Τοιαυτα το τα της σαλαιας Θεολοίας, το μετα-**C**αλουτες νεοι τινες, χθες και πρωην επιφυεντές, λοίκω. τερου τε Φιλοσοφείν αυχουντές, την δη Φυσικωτέραν της weel Jewy δοξαν εισηδησαντο, Cεμνοτερας ευρεσιαλοδίας τοις μυθοις ωροσεπινοησαντές, και μητε ωαντη των προπατερων το πλημμελές της δυσσεθείας εκφυίοντές, μη αυ ταλι την αυτοθεν τροφαινομενην των θεολοίουμενων μοχθηριαν υπομειναντες. Eufeb. Præp. Ev: p. 74. Vig.

+ Ост ви точтым ажантым адлямендал, тт дан μας την ταυτην και γενναιαν Φυσιολοίιαν κατ' ουδεν άληθειας πμμενην, ουδε τι θειον αληθως επαδομενην, βεδιασμευπο δε, και διεψευσμευην εχουσαν την εξοθεν ζεμ-

vololiav. Euseb. Præp. p. 92.

| Μυριοις μεν ουν αλλοις των ΦιλοσοΦειν επαγελομενων πολυς περι τουτων εισηκται πουος, διαφορους τας αυτων ευρεσιολοίιας πεποιημενοις, και το σαραζαν και δοξαν έκας ω, τουτ' ειναι το αληθες απισχυριζομενας.

Euseb. Præp. p. 82.

‡ Και ταυτη τοιγαρουν ή γευναια των Ελληνων Φιλοσοφια ως δια μηχανής πεφηνέν, εις ύψος μεν αναίουσα την επαγελιαν του λογου, καλω δε ωερισρεφουσα αμφι την αισθητην και Φαινομενην του θεου δημιουρίω την των σοφων διανοιαν. Euseb. p. 96. Ipfas Physiologias cum -Nihil video nifi ad temporalia terrenaque opera, naturamque corpoream; vel etiam fi invisibilem, tamen mutabilem, potuisse revocari, quod nullo modo est verus Deus. August, de Civ. Dei. Lib. 7. cap. 7.

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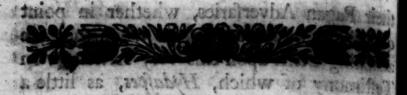
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ww Φιλοαναίουσα οσα αμφι π την των gias cum lia terre-

ri, quod Dei. Lib. their Pagan Adversaries, whether in point of Raillery or Argument, as when they are attacking them upon this very Article. In Testimony of which, Hydaspes, as little a Friend as you are to the Writings of the Fathers, I could undertake to produce you some Passages from them, which you should own yourself to be pleased with, but that I have at present another Design upon you, which will be a sufficient Exercise of your Attention; I mean, to introduce to you the following Conversation with Hortensius, upon the Subject of practical Superstition in the Pagan World.



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A Few Days fince, as we were fitting carelessly together, after some little Pause in Discourse, (said Hortensius to me) you have been of late, Philemon, so much taken up with the Writers of the old physical Mythology, that I begin, methinks, to look upon you as a complete Allegorist.

IF you really think (said I) I have made so good use of my time that way, you must give me leave to remind you of a Claim you lately gave me upon you, so soon as I should have made a competent Progress in that Affair, the ingaging you to proceed with me from the Consideration of salse Theory, to that of salse Practice in Religion in the Pagan World. We are alone, Hortensus—you seem to be quite at leisure this Afternoon—When can you have a better Opportunity for this purpose?

You do not expect (said he) I dare say, Philemon, that, in so wide a Range of Error and Absurdity, as the speculative Superstition of the Ancients, such as it has been

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heen lately represented to you, evidently gave to their practical, I should distinctly mift on every minute Article of their religous Ceremonial. The Task, you cannot but be sensible, would be almost endless, belides that it is moreover no ways necessary to the main Scope of our present Disquisiion. All I would propose therefore is, to by before you some of the more striking Particulars of the Pagan Worship; which, when I shall have explained to you, in the left manner I am able, either from the general Reason of the things themselves, or the Lights Antiquity has afforded us conerning them, I shall look upon myself as laying fully discharged the Promise you lay caim to from me. In the pursuit then of this Defign, Philemon, I know not where more deservedly to bespeak your Attention in the inft place, than to the Rite of Sacrifice: a Practice, as we learn from the most angent History extant in the World, which commenced almost from the Foundation of t; and which has ever fince univerfally prevailed, as to its more general Notion, whilst the frivolous Caprice of Superstition has in nothing, perhaps, more fignally difplayed itself, than in the almost infinite Vanety of Distinctions introduced into the particular Exercise of it.

THE Practice itself (interrupted I) Hortensius, is to me a Matter of much greater

Embarassment, than any of the different Modifications of it: For that indeed once admitted, the particular Character or Conception of the Divinity, to whom at any time Sacrifice was to be performed, would naturally enough fuggest some suitable Particularities to be observed, both in the Matter and Manner of it. In the mean while, the Thought of facrificing at large, the general Notion of the thing itself, is to my Apprehension, in every View of it, fo glaring an Abfurdity, that I am amazed it should ever enter into the Head of any rational Creature. For the very Idea of a Divine Being implies in it such a superior Excellency of Nature, as to be wholly out of the reach of our good Offices: And, as Socrates, I remember, in Plato, somewhere prettily observes, he must know very little of the Art of giving, who makes a Prefent to any Person of what he has no want of \*. But even could it be supposed, either that

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Σωμρ' Αρ ουν το γε ορθως αιτειν αν ειη, ων δεομεθα παρ' εκεινων, (των θεων) ταυτα αυτους αιτειν; Ευθυφρ' Αλλο τι; Σωκ' και αυτο διδοναι ορθως, ων εκεινοι τυβχανουσι δεομενοι παρ' ήμων, ταυτα εκεινοις αυ αντιδυρεισθαι; ου γαρ που τεχνικον γ' αν ειη δωροφορειν διδονία τω ταυτα ων ουδεν δειται. Plat. in Euthyphrone, p. 14. Serr. The Philosopher's Reply, when he was accused of not sacrificing to Minerva, was a very just one. Μη θαυμασητε (εφη) ω Ανδρες Αθηναιοι, ει μη προτερον αυτη Εθυσα' ουδε γαρ δεισθαι αυτην των παρ' εμου θυσιων ύπελαμβαναν. Lucian. in Demon. p. 380. 2 vol. Amst. 4to.

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the Gods wanted any Accession to be made to their original Happiness, or that it was in any wife within the Power of Man to give it them, still surely the very lowest possible Conception of their Divinity must, one would think, have placed them above the mean Tribute of a little. Barley, Frankincense, the Steams of a Victim, or the Fumes of a Libation, for this purpose, And yet, it feems, so very differently were they used to be thought of by the greater part of their deluded Votaries, that a polite and knowing Ancient has represented them to us, upon the System of popular Apprehension in the Case, as intent upon scarce any thing besides: Eternally looking about after the Smoke of some Altar, to the utter Neglect of the great Concerns of Providence; and, as often as they had the good Fortune to catch the least Scent of a Sacrifice, descending eagerly to their Banquet, gaping over the Steam, and fucking in the Blood, of the poor Animal that was the Subject of it, with the Greediness of so many Flies \*. Agreeably to which Character, we find Jupiter in the same Author,

<sup>\*</sup>Μωμος — και μοι ενταυθα, ω Ζευ, (μονοι γας ετμεν) αποκριναι μοι με αληθειας, ει ποτε ζοι εμεληθεν ες τοσουτου των εν τη γη, ως εξετασαι οι τινες αυτων φι Φαυλοι, η οι τινες οι χρης οι εισιν; Αλλ' ουκ αν ειποις αλλ', ει χρη τ'αληθη λείειν, καθημεθα, τουτο μο-

in one place expressing his Apprehensions for his Fellow Gods in general, lest they should all of them, in a short time, come to be quite famished, by the growing Success of Epicurus's Philosophy in the World and in another, complaining to Menippus upon his own account in particular, that through

νου επιτηρουντες, ει τις θυει, και κυιστα ωτρι τους βωμους τα δαλλα κατα ρουν Φερεται, ως αν τυχοι εκας η,
ωαρασυρομενα. Lucian. Jup. Trag. 2 vol. 4to. p. 666,
667. Ed. Amst. Οι δε θεοι ωαρ Ζηνι καθημενοι (πρεπει γαρ οιμαι ανω οντα με αληθορείν) αποσκοπουσιν ες τη
γην, και ωαντη ωτριδλεπουσιν επικυπτούτες, ειποθε
οφονται πυρ αναπλομενου, η αναΦερομενην κυίσσαν

καν μεν θυη τις, ευωχουνίαι παντες, επικεχηνοτες το καπνω, και το αιμα πινοντες τοις βωμοις προσχεομενοι ωσπερ αι μυιαι. Luc. de Sac. p. 533. vol. 1. Ed. Amft

\* Ο μεν ουν παρων καιρος, ω Θεοι, μονονουχι λείει Φωνην αφιεις, ότι των παρούτων ερρωμένως αυτιληπτίο MILLIU EST. - EUPLONE de TOU ETIMOUPEION Damin, TOU ETIτριτίου, και Τιμοκλέα του Στωικου, ανδρωυ Βελτισοι εκθυμώς σαιν εριζονίας. - ην δε αρα σερι ήμων ο πας λοίος αυτοις: ο μευ γαρ καταρατος Δαμίς, ουτε προνοει πικας ερασκε των αυθρωπων, ουτε επισκοπειν τα γιδιομεία wap αυτοις, ουδευ αλλο, η μηδε όλως ήμας ειναι λείως -καίω ωαρομαρίων τοις ωρλλοις επηκουον, μεταξύ απιουτων οικαδε, ωπρ' αυτους επαινουντων τα του Δαμιδος και πόη ωαρα ωολυ αιρουμενων τα εκείνου - ταυτ' ετι ερ' όις ύμας ζυνεκαλεσα: ου μικρα, ω θεοι, ει λοίζεσθε ώς ή τε και μεν ήμιν τιμη, και δοξα, και προσοδος, ο ανθρωποι εισιν: ειδ' όυτοι πεισθειεν η μηδε όλως 9 μους ειναι, η οντας, απροποητούς ειναι σφων αυτων, αθυία, באמן משופשהם, אמו מדונות חנוו בדמן דמ בא שחר, אמן ματη

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through the fuperior Vogue some of the other Gods had been in for forme time past upon Earth, his Altars, which had used to be the most frequented ones, were become colder than Plato's Laws, or Chrysppus's Syllogisms \*. I might go on to observe here the extreme Folly of supposing, that the Gods should ever be pleased with the mere useless Waste of their own Productions; or, in the Case of Animal-Sacrifice in paricular, should consider, as an Act of acceptable Religion, the Destruction of a Life, of which they had fo exquifitely provided for the Continuance. I might take notice of the very degrading Idea it gives one of their Goodness, to consider medient of contrary Reafons in the P

ματην ευ ουρανω καθεδουμεθα λιμω εχομενοι, εορτων επινων, και πασηγυρεων, και αγωνων, και θυσιων, και
πανυχιδων, και πορπων, σερουμενοι. Jup. Trag. p.
658—663. Οι δε δη Επικουρειοι αυτων λεγομενοι μαλα
ή και υθρισαι εισι, και ου μετριως ήμων καθαπτονίαι.
σίοτι ην άπαξ ουτοι πεισαι του βιου δυνηθωσιν, ου μετριως πεινησετε. Icaromen. p. 788, 789.2 vol. 4to.

\* Εξ ου δε ει Δελφοις μευ Απολλων το μαντειον κατεςησατο, ευ Περγαμω δε το ιατρειου ο Ασκληπιος, και το 
βειδιδείου εγευετο ευ Θρακη, και το Αυουβειδιου ευ Αιγυπίω, και το Αρτεμισιου ευ Εφεσω, επι ταυτα μευ 
άπαυτες θεουσι, και ωανηγυρεις αναγουσι, και έκατομέας ωαρις ασιυ, εμε δε, ώσπερ ωαρηθηκοτα, ίκατομέας ωαρις ασιυ, εμε δε, ώσπερ ωαρηθηκοτα, ίκατομέας ωαρις ασιυ, εμε δε, ώσπερ ωαρηθηκοτα, ίκατους τετιμηκευαι υομιζουσιυ, αυ δια ωευτε όλων ετων 
θυσωσιυ ευ Ολυμπια τοιγαρουν ψυχροτερους αυ μου 
τους βωμους ιδοις των Πλατωνός υομων, η των Χρυσιππου 
συλλογισμων. Icaromen. p. 780, 781, 2 vol. Ed. 
Amft.

them as entoring into a kind of Merchan. dize with Mankind in the matter of their Favours : The ill Use natural to be made of fo venal a Conception of them; and the Difficulty which must often arise to Beings of such a mercenary Disposition from rival Applications to their Interests, on both ades of a Petition: A Circumstance, un der which, in the Writer but now men, tioned, we have the great Father of Gods and Men introduced upon a certain Occafion, as fo eruelly embaraffed, that He even fuffered all the Perplexity of a Philosopher of the Academy was unable to determine on the behalf of either Party in the Suit; and, like Pyrrbo; from the equal Moment of contrary Reasons in the Point, stood reduced to a State of absolute Suspense and Scepticism \*. But there is indeed no Measure, Hortensius, to the Ridicule of this Subject.

I AM very ready to agree with you, (faid he) that the general Notion of facrificing is altogether as extraordinary, as it appears to have have sinde just R that the O

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<sup>\*</sup> Επι μιας δε τινος ευχης και απορουνία αυτού εθεασαμην. δυο γαρ ανδρων τάνανία ευχομενων, και τας επινευσειεν αυτων. ώστε δη το Ακαδημαϊκον εκεινο επειπουθει, και συδεν τι αποφηνασθαι δυνατος ην, αλλ, ώσπερ ο Πυρρων, επειχεν ετι και διεσκεπίετο. Ιςaromen. p. 783. Amft.

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have been universal in the World. There sindeed so little seeming Foundation in any just Reasoning for a Practice of this Nature, that many Writers have been for resolving the Original of it into a positive Institution from Heaven.

As if (faid I) the Circumstance of a Command in this Case made any Difference as to the intrinsic Nature of the thing; or, what were just Exceptions to Sacrifice, before it was appointed, were not equally fuch afterwards. This puts me in mind of the Conduct of a Debate in Phytarch about the poetic Talents of the famed Pythian Oracle. Some Friends were accompanying young Stranger they had with them to a Sight of Apollo's Temple at Delphi; the Persons who used to attend upon such Occasions in shewing the Temple had, in the Course of their Office, recited a certain Orade of their God's, delivered, as was his more ancient way of delivering his Oracles, in Metre. The Stranger hereupon could not help expressing some Surprise, that the Poetry of Apollo, the great Patron of the Art itself, should fall so much below that of Homer and Hesiod, in the Beauty and Elegance of its Composition. Upon which Serapion, one of the Party, and himself a Poet, observed to him, that, as the Oracle came from Apollo, the Drefs of it must needs

needs be unexceptionable, however others wife it might appear, through the Prejudice of a vicious Custom of judging in that Af. fair. Divine Compositions were not to be measured by human Standards; and it was much rather to be supposed, that Men might have made a false Estimate of what was Excellent in Poetry, than that the God of Verse himself should not excel in it \*. So staunch, you see, was Serapion's Orthodoxy in the Point, that he chose rather to renounce his very Senses upon the Hypothesis of an Inspiration, than, as was the more natural Proceeding, to give up the Hypothesis of an Inspiration to the clear Evi-Now, is it not, think dence of his Senses. you, a way of arguing, in the Writers y was speaking of, somewhat like to that of

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<sup>\*</sup> Χρησμου δε τινος εμμετρου λεχθεντος — πολλακις εΦη Θαυμασαι των επων ο Διογενιανος, εν οις οι χρησμοι λεγονται, την Φαυλοτητα και την ευτελειαν καιτοι μουσηγετης ο Θεος, και της λεγομενης λογιοτηίος ουχ ήτίον αυίω το καλον, η της περι μελη και ωδας, και ευφωνιας μετειναι, και πολυ του Ήσιοδου ευεπεια και του Όμηρου υπερφθεγίεσθαι τους δε πολλους των χρησμων όρωμεν και τοις μετροις, και τοις ονομασι, πλημμελειας και Φαυλοτητος αναπεπλεγμενους παρων ουν Αθηνηθεν ο ποιητης Σεραπιων, Ειτα, εφη, ταυτα τα επη του Θεου πιστυντές είναι, το ασωμον ουν, παλίν, ως λεγεται, καλλει των Όμηρου και Ήσιοδου λεγείν, ου χρησομεθα τουτοις ως αρισα και καλλισα πεποιημενοις, επανοξθουμένοι την αυτων κρισιν προκατειλημμενην ύπο Φαυλης συνηθείας. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. p. 396. Χγί.

<sup>\*</sup> See

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Serapion here, that they should urge, as a satisfactory Solution of the Problem of Sacrifice, its being instituted at the Command of God, when they have before pronounced it to be unworthy even of the weak and deprayed Reason of Man \*?

I HAVE a better Opinion (reply'd Hortenfius) of the Pleasantry of this Representation, Philemon, than, I must own, I have of its Justness. When the Writers, I was speaking of, condemn Sacrifice as a very absurd Practice, they consider it, you are to suppose, as abstracted from what they conceive to have been the true Reason of it. This, they contend, is only to be carnt from Scripture, which affords us the only unexceptionable Account of the Origin of this Rite, when it gives us to understand, it was immediately ordained of God, with a View to a particular Purpose of his Providence.

I THOUGHT (faid I) I had been no Stranger to the fourth Chapter of Genefis, where the first Mention is made of Sacrifice in the Sacred Writings. I do not remember any thing there, which should seem to countenance such a Notion: The Historian is indeed careful to acquaint us with

<sup>\*</sup> See Revelation examined with Candour, vol. 1. P. 125, and following ones, particularly p. 131.

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the very different Acceptance of the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel; but observes, so far as I recollect, a prosound Silence, as to the particular Motives of them.

But another inspired Author, they say, (returned He) has abundantly supplied that Omission; the Author, I mean, of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He informs us, that it was by Faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice than Cain \*: By which is to be understood, they tell us, a Faith in some positive Revelation, in consequence whereof he performed an acceptable Sacrifice to his Maker, which, otherwise, he could not have done +.

I SHOULD be glad to know here (faid I) to whom the Revelation pretended was first made? Whether to Abel himself, or, before his time, to Adam? For, if the Injunction of sacrificing was first given to Adam, there can be no Doubt, I suppose, but he would take care to communicate it equally to both his Sons: And thus, it would seem, that the Merit both of Cain and Abel, so far as their particular Action of sacrificing only was concerned, must have been altogether the same in the sight

<sup>\*</sup> Heb. xi. ver. 4. + See Shuckford's Connection, &c. vol. 1. p. 86, 87.—Rev. Ex. vol. 1. p. 133—4—5.

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of God, inafmuch as they both acted in that Affair upon the same common Principle of Obedience to his positive Institution. Or if on the other hand, the Command of Sacrifice was a personal one to Abel, (not to observe, that the Reason of such Command, whatever it might be, can hardly be thought not to have extended to Cain, as well as Abel) a Difficulty fure will arise upon this View of the Case, whence it came to pass, that Cain was fo much furprised, as he appears to have been, at the different Reception his Offering met with from his Brother's \*, when he could not but reflect there was fo very good a Reason for it, as that the latter was made at an express Warrant from the Receiver, whereas, the former was the unauthorized Refult of his own officious Inclination?

The Advocates for the divine Origin of Sacrifice (returned He) have a Distinction here, which you have overlooked. They contend, that the first Command of Sacrifice, to whomsoever addressed, was of an animal, or bloody Sacrifice only; the Design thereof being to exhibit to Mankind a Memorial of Death's being the appointed Punishment of the first Man's Transgression, and at the same time to give them Hopes of some future Release from that Punish-

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<sup>\*</sup> Gen. iv. ver. 5.

ment to be obtained through the Mercy of their Creator; to neither of which Ends, you will observe, had Cain's Offering of the Fruits of the Ground any manner of Subserviency. His Fault therefore lay, not in the unwarranted Use of Sacrifice, as such, but in the Choice of an unwarranted Subject for it \*.

THE Difficulty (I interposed) about Cain's Surprise and Disappointment is not in the least better solved upon this Hypothesis, than the former. But to let that pass, Hortenfius, the Demand, methinks, of the Life of a perfectly innocent Creature, to be offered up in Sacrifice upon this Occasion to God could give but small Encouragement to hope, that God intended to favour a guilty Then, as to Sacrifices being inflituted in Memory of Death's being the Punishment of Sin, there seems to have been but little need of appointing the Slaughter of other Animals as Monuments to Manking of a Fact, which, in the course of things, every Man would be but too frequently reminded of in Subjects of his own Species, and of which he was one day to make the fatal Experiment himself in his own proper Person.

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<sup>\*</sup> See Shuck. Con. Vol. 1. p. 81-2-to 88. Rev Exam. Vol. 1. p. 135-6. 140-1-2-3.

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You feem to have forgot (faid Hortenfius) to what a Number of Years the Life of Man was extended in the first Ages of the World: a Circumstance, it has been thought, which made it necessary to our first Parents to have some nearer Information, what Death, the Penalty of their Transgreffion, was, than by waiting for the Execution of it upon themselves, or some of their Posterity; otherwise, their Idea of the Punishment of Sin would come too late, to give them a proper Sense of the Evil of it. You cannot conceive, Philemon, with what a pathetic Eloquence this Subject is treated by a modern Author. The Groans, the Struggles of the poor expiring Animals destined to give Adam and Eve their first Lectures of Mortality. Their Contemplation of these Animals in their dead Eyes, and cold Carcasses, before they were placed upon the Altar --- and in the fad Reduction of their Beauty and Excellence to an Handful of Dust afterwards — Under a Reflection all this while, that the melancholy spectacle before their Eyes was an Effect of their unhappy Misconduct - and that they themselves were one day to follow the same odious Steps to Destruction-are painted by him with all the Heightenings of the most tender Imagery \*. And if the Scene could

<sup>•</sup> Rev. Exam. Vol. 1. p. 144-5-6.

could be thus affecting in its Picture only, what an exquisite Distress must have attended it in its original Exhibition? So exquisite indeed, in our Author's Conception, that it would have gone nigh to have evacuated the very End of its own Appointment; and instead of acquainting our first Parents with the Nature only of their Doom, have driven them to a violent Anticipation of it upon themselves, if, at the same time that it was fuch a Lecture of Terror to them, it had not likewise been a Lecture of Mercy; as impressing them at once with the Idea of their Punishment, and with the Hope of being some way, or other, to be finally difcharged from it \*.

With regard (said I) to the sirst of these Uses of Sacrisice, it would have been better suited to that Part of its Intendment, if it had been instituted before the Fall, rather than after it. For never surely did it so much import Mankind to have a due Apprehension of the Miseries of Death, as before they had incurred the Sentence of it. Then, indeed, a Representation of it to their Minds, in all its most aggravated Horrors, might have been a very useful Piece of Caution to them: But when once the irrevocable Decree was passed against them, Dust thou art, and to Dust shalt thou return,

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<sup>\*</sup> See as before, p. 146-7.

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furn \*, the Information supposed could re only, erve only to inhance the Wretchedness of ettended heir Condition; as giving them a more exxquisite milite Dread of their Sentence, when it on, that was wholly out of their power to escape racuated the Execution of it. And, as to the other nt; and nts with Use of Sacrifice, its conveying Hopes of Pardon, and Mercy to fallen Mankind, I e driven m altogether, as I before hinted, to feek, it upon it it was Hortenstus, for the Grounds of such an Inerpretation of it. There is at least, I think, , it had withing of this kind implied in the Nature ercy; as Idea of of the Rite itself. Hope of

> THE Foundation of this Hypothesis (replied He) is laid in the Sentence pronounced by God upon the Serpent immediately after the Fall of our first Parents: A Season, you know, in which they had but just recived a most fatal Mischief from him; under which it could be but a cold Confoation to them to be told, that they, and their Posterity, should every now and then give him an accidental Bruife upon the Head, and that too frequently at the Expence of being Sufferers themselves in the very Act of doing it +. Interpreters therefore, in mere Good-nature to the two unhappy Delinquents upon this Occasion, have thought it necessary to give this Sentence

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<sup>•</sup> Gen. iii. ver. 19. † Gen. iii. ver. 15.

an higher Meaning: Some supposing it to contain a general Promise only of Mercy to Man; whilst others have gone so far as to contend, that the gracious Wisdom of God so ordered this Affair, as, under the very Penalty denounced against the hated Instrument of Man's Ruin, to afford him a kind of mystic Intimation of the particular Mean of his Recovery. Of the former of these Opinions is the Author I last mentioned to you; who, having discovered a general Covenant of Mercy in the Sentence before us, finds so fingular an Aptness in the Rite of Sacrifice, spoken of almost immediately afterwards in the Mosaic History, to become the Seal of this Covenant, that he will no fuffer you to make the least doubt, but that it was instituted for that purpose. I will read you a few of his own Words, Philemon: - " That God entered into a Cove " nant of Mercy with Man, immediately " after the Fall, is evident from the Sen-" tence passed upon the Serpent: in which " a Covenant of Mercy is necessarily im-" plied. And can we doubt, that Sacri-" fices were the Seal of that Covenant

" Especially, when Mercy is so plainly im-

" plied in the very Nature of the Institu-" tion; which teaches, that tho' Life be

"the Forfeit of Sin, yet God will in " mercy accept another Life in lieu of the

" Offender's?" - "We find that God's usual

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"Way of ratifying Covenants of Mercy with Mankind, in After-Ages, was by "Sacrifices; and can we imagine, that he failed to do fo, when fuch Mercy was more wanted, than ever it was fince the "Foundation of the World? and when " fuch an Establishment is demonstrably one main Reason of the very Institution of "Sacrifices? Is it to be imagined, that "God should take care of the Health of our Parents Bodies on this Occasion, " and take none of the Peace of their "Minds? Is it to be imagined, that God " should, foon after this, shew so much " Solicitude for an hardened Murtherer, for " so vile a Wretch as Cain; and take none "now about two unhappy Delinquents, "oppressed with Misery, and at the very "Point of Despair? Had he so much "Mercy foon after upon one Man; and " would he have none now upon the whole "Race of Mankind, yet in Adam?"-Thus our Author --- than whom, I believe, it will not be easy to find a Man of a happier Talent at realizing his own Fancies. But I could foon forgive him this, if he was not altogether as imposing, as he is fanciful. The truth is, the Candour promises us in his Title-Page seems, in a manner, to have evaporated there, by the little we meet with of it in his Performance.

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I know not (interrupted I) Hontenfus whether you will allow me the Expression but I have often thought, there is a fort of Perfecution in Logic, as well as in Religion When Men of a warm and dogmatic Temper have no fooner passed off a weak Argument upon themselves under the Conceit of a Demonstration, but, with the idolatrou Prince we read of in Scripture, they imme diately make a Decree to all People, Nations and Languages, that, at what time they bear the Sound of their peremptory Decisions they fall down and worship the Golden Image which these Tyrants in Speculation, bav fet up \*. But to return from this Digreff. on, Hortenfius-If Men must set themselve to interpret so very obscure a Text of Scrip ture, as that of the Sentence passed upon the Serpent, they do, however, I think, ad with more Modesty, when they consider i as a general Covenant of Mercy only, that when they decypher it of the more explici Promise of a Redeemer: Surely, this is by much too precise a Determination in a Que stion of fuch notorious Uncertainty.

HERE likewise, (resumed Hortensius) as in the Hypothesis of a general Covenant of Mercy, Philemon, the Institution of Sacrifice is brought upon the Stage, to confirm the

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<sup>\*</sup> Dan. Chap. iii. ver. 4, 5, 10.

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the Truth of the Interpretation; it being, s is pretended, a symbolical Exhibition of the Subject of the Prophecy supposed, a Figure of the true Offering which was afterwards to be made for the Sins of Men \*. If you are not disposed to acquiesce in the obvious Fitness of the Rite of Sacrifice in its own Nature to typify this Offering, but require some positive Proof from Scripture, that it did so, you will be told, that a typial Reference to Christ is at large afferted by the Apostle to the Hebrews in certain of the legal Sacrifices. Now, Sacrifices were not new Institution at the giving of the Law, and the Rules which Moses gave about Sacrisices and Oblations were, 'tis probable, only a Revival of the ancient Institutions in that matter +. But then, you are to observe, that the same Writer, who says this, says also, that there were some few Additions or Improvements made to them under the Law, which God thought proper for the State and Circumstances, through which he designed to carry the Jewish Nation ‡. And what if the strongest Articles of Reference to the Messiah were of the number of these Additions and Improvements? A very precanous Inference fure it must be, from the typical Reference of Sacrifices under the E 2 Law

<sup>\*</sup> Shuck. Con. vol. 1, p. 84.

<sup>†</sup> Shuck. p. 84, 85.

<sup>‡</sup> See as before.

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Law to Christ, to the typical Reference of Sacrifices before the Law, when all the more emphatical Circumstances of this Reference, in the former Case, appear to have been wanting in the latter \*. And yet it happens still more unfortunately for this Theory of typical Reference, that it is doubtful, at least, whether the very Sacrifice most infifted on in this Argument, fo far from being a figurative Shedding of the Blood of Chrift, was fo much as a real Shedding of that of an Animal. This however is worth our Notice, that the contrary Sentiment has been espoused by Commentators of the first Class in biblical Criticism: Grotius understanding the Account of Abel's Sacrifice in Genefis of an Oblation of Wool and Cream from some more distinguished Animal of bis Flock +; and Mr. Le Clerc, still more probably;

Neque tuto asseritur Abelem, Noachum, aliofque Mose priores, in Sacrificiis suis Christi sacrificandi prophetiam quandam realem exhibere studuisse; cum hoc Scriptura nusquam dixerit, & Sacrificia Patriarchalia circumstantiis quibusdam emphaticis, Lege postea præscriptis, destituta suerint. Spencer. de Leg. Hebræorum, Tom. 2. p. 772. Ed. Chappel, Conf. Outram. de Sac. cap. 1. p. 18.

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bably;

bably, I think, of an Offering of Cream only from a Firstling of it ‡. Should we take the Sense, Philemon, of these Gentlemen in the Point (and none, I am fure, have a better Title to our Submission) what a Multitude of fine Speculations about the Reasons and Intendments of Abel's Sacrifice might we compendiously dispatch, by a new rendering only in our Bible of two or three Words in a Sentence! Particularly, what will become, in this view of things, of a learned Author's Account of the fuperior Acceptableness of Abel's Sacrifice to Cain's, as being founded upon the Expectation of a Messiah? Upon his believing what God had promised, that " the Seed of the " Woman should bruife the Serpent's Head;" and in consequence of such Belief offering such a Sacrifice for his Sins, as God had appointed to be offered, " until the Sead should come \*?" Or, of the Solution of this Problem proposed to us by the candid Examiner of Revelation, now before me, to the following Effect?—That " Abel, tho' a better Man, " offered fuch a Sacrifice as plainly implied " a Consciousness of Guilt which called for " Atonement; and consequently his was a " Sacrifice of Repentance; confessing Guilt,

" and

Mallem vocem Behoroth sensu interpretari proprio, ut sit hic en dia duoin, de primogenitis pecudum suarum, & de Adipe earum, auti tou de Adipe, aut de Laste primogenitarum pecudum. Cleric. Comment. in Gen. Cap. 4. Com. 3.
Shuck. Con. Vol. 1. p. 85-87.

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and imploring Pardon; and as fach was accepted of God—whereas Cain, the awork Man, expected to be accepted without Repentance or Atonement—And this feems very elearly implied in God's And fiver to him; "If thou doft well, that thou not be accepted? and if thou doft not well, Sin lieth at the door;" that is, if you are righteous and unfinning, you fhall be accepted as such without Sacrifice—but if you are unrighteous, Sin lieth at your door, and must lie there, till it is removed by Repentance and A. tonement, (doubtless such Atonement as God himself had before appointed \*?")

I ALL along thought (interrupted I) that the Sin which introduced Death into the World, and Sacrifice by way of Memorial of it, had been that of our first Parents in Paradife. Now, methinks, it was fomewhat needless for Abel to offer a Sacrifice of Repentance for a Crime which he had never committed in his own Person, and with which he became chargeable by Imputation only; a kind of Guilt, which could give him, furely, but a moderate Degree of Contrition; at least not a sufficient one, to keep him at fuch an awful Distance from his beneficent Creator, as, that he should not dare to approach him with Thanks for the common Bleffings of his Providence, till

<sup>\*</sup> Rev. Exam. Vol. 1. p. 136.

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ill he had first expiated an Offence for which he stood fo improperly accountable \*. An Offence, sindeed, whereof both he; and his Brother, had so much less an Intrest in the Demerit, than they unfortuntely were to have in the Penalty, that I an fearce imagine the latter of them would ever have been reproached with doing ill, if he had not fome other way transgressed, than in the Loins of his Father. And yet again, Hortenfus, if our Author supposes here; that both Cain and Abel frood obnoxious to Death, in confequence of their own perfor al Transgressions, we must then defire him to explain to us, what St. Paul means by afferting, that Sin is not imputed, is not valued at any certain determinate Price (as great Commentator interprets this Place) where there is no Law +: Or elfe, to shew us some other Law, besides those to Adam, or Moses, which had the Penalty of Death positively annexed to it. But there is indeed little Occasion to press this matter any farther, as the Account you have been giving me of the Subject of Abel's Sacrifice strikes equally at the Expiatory, as at the Typical Quality of it.

Nor will the Probability of that Account (said He) be at all weakened by what is sometimes urged as an Objection

<sup>\*</sup> Rev. Exam. p. 136.

<sup>†</sup> Mr. Locke's Paraph, and Notes on Rom, v. ver. 13. Locke's Works, Fol. Vol. 3. p. 281-2.

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to it, that the Apostle to the Hebrews, in speaking of Abel's Offering, calls it Sucia, and not wpooques, or sweer, as he would rather, it is argued, have done, had it been of an inanimate Kind \*. It being notorious, that the word Duoia is several times used in Scripture of an inanimate Oblation +; not to observe, that with regard to the particular Sacrifice in question, the same Apostle, who calls it Duoia in one Claufe of the Paf. fage referred to, calls it Swpor in another !. Tho' after all, Philemon, should it be allowed, that the Sacrifice we are speaking of was really an Animal-one, even yet it may be questioned, whether it had the Nature of an Expiation: Seeing we have it upon the Authority of a learned Divine, who had confidered well this whole Subject of Sacrifices, that the very next Instance of Animal-Sacrifice which occurs in the Mofaic History, the Burnt-Offerings which Noab offered unto the Lord upon his going forth out of the Ark, was a Sacrifice, not

\* Shuck. Con, Vol. 1. p. 81, 82.

† Εαν δε ψυχη προσφερη δωρον θυσιαν τω Κυριω, ζε μιδαλις ες αι το δωρου αυτου, και επιχεει επ' αυτό ελαίου, και επιθησει επ' αυτο λιδανου. Δυσια ες 1. Levit. Cap. 2. Com. 1. Πας γαρ ωυρι αλισθησεται και ωασα 9υσια άλι αλισθησεται. Marc. ix. 49. Vid. Grot. in Epift. ad Heb. cap. viii. 3. cap. v. 1.

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επι τοις δωροίς αυτου του Θεου. Heb. xi. 4.

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of Atonement, but Eucharist \*: a Testimony of his Thankfulness to Heaven, on the behalf of himself and his Family, for their privileged Exemption from a Fate, which had involved all the rest of Mankind †.

A SACRIFICE of Eucharist (faid I) was really the only one that could be at all fuitable to the present Occasion. For, with regard to the exclusive Body of Mankind, they had already perished for their Sins, beyond the power of an Atonement to avert their Condemnation; and, with regard to Noah and his particular Family, they had, methinks, already fo fenfible a Conviction afforded them of their past Sins being remitted to their utmost Wish, that they had little need to think of expiating them any farther. Gratitude to their Deliverer, and Joy in their Deliverance, were the only Affections of Mind which their present Situation called for: unless we may add now and then a compaffionate Retrospect to the Case of their lost Contemporaries, at once to inhance to them the Value of their Rescue, and to restrain F

\* Gen. viii. ver. 20.

<sup>†</sup> Noas enim Deogratias agens de salute sibi, suisque datâ, cum reliquum omne mortalium Genus aquarum diluvio periisset, Holocausta Deo immolabat. Outram. de Sac. p. 110.

them from a too licentious Exultation under the Sense of it.

BEFORE we quit this Topic (refumed Hertenfius) of the Institution of Sacrifice at the Command of God, besides the particular Arguments hitherto alledged against it, I must not omit a very strong presumptive one in general, which arises from the constant Silence of the Mosaic History as to any fuch Command, notwithstanding the frequent Occasions which offer themselves there for the Mention of it, if indeed a Command of this nature had ever been given. I will propose this Argument to you in the words of the Author so often already quoted, to shew you how much better he can state a Difficulty for us, than, you will find, he has answered it. - " If Moses knew " that Sacrifices were originally instituted " by God, with Marks of Acceptance, as " in the Case of Abel - why did he not " give a clear, distinct Account of the In-" stitution, and the Manner of Accep-

" tance \*?"—The Answer, it seems, is—
"Because such a Relation was unnecessary.

"The Jews, to whom he wrote, knew very well, that their own Sacrifices were

" of divine Institution, and that God had

" manifested his Acceptance of them, upon the first solemn Oblation after their In-

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<sup>\*</sup> Revelation Exam. p. 136.

under efumed rifice at particuainst it, imptive ne conas to ing the emfelves ndeed a n given. u in the dy quohe can vill find, s knew nstituted ance, as d he not the In-Accepns, is necessary. e, knew ces were God had m, upon

their In-

" stitution, by a miraculous Fire from the " Divine Presence; and they could have no "Reason to doubt, that they were so in-" flituted, and so accepted, from the Begin-" ning. Nor needed they to be informed of a " Truth, which, doubtless, a clear, uninter-" rupted Tradition had long made familiar to " them \*." -- What a flowing Solution, Philemon, is here! how striking upon the whole! and how unexceptionable in every diffinct Part of it! Should not an Infidel, who had any Remains of Modesty, blush to oppose his vain and sceptical Surmisings to the rational Deductions of fuch a Master in Argument? An Author, every Stroke almost of whose Pen is the Decision of some Controversy, and who scarce writes a Sentence, but it comprises a Demonstration? Was not his Character, think you, happily drawn by an elegant and acute Writer of our Acquaintance, when he described him to us, as the very Hero of Modern Orthodoxy; the Scourge of Infidels; allowed to have a better Fancy for ingenious Solutions, than all the other Vindicators of Scripture put together +? Should we however ask this Gentleman here, upon what Grounds he fo confidently afferts an universal Persuasion in the Jewish Nation of the divine Original of Sacrifices, or where

Revelation Exam. p. 137.

<sup>†</sup> Remarks on some Observations addressed to the Author of the Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 10.

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he meets with that clear uninterrupted Tra. dition of this Fact amongst them, which he delivers with fuch an Air of Certainty and Affurance, he would be at a loss, I am apt to think, to give us an Answer to this Question, without having recourse to some new Conjectures for that purpose. Mean while, if there really subsisted amongst the Yews such a clear uninterrupted Tradition of Sacrifices being originally of Divine Appointment to their Fore-fathers, at the time of Mofer's writing his History of those Persons, is it not very extraordinary, Philemon, that, in all the Accounts he gives of their Sacrifices, a Notion so familiar to him should never once have escaped him? that not so much as an Hint of this matter should have ever dropped from his Pen, from the mere settled Impression of the Fact itself upon his own Mind in writing? But we are told farther, that Sacrifice, at its second Institution under Moses, was loaded with many additional Ceremonies: and it might not be proper for Moses to point up to it in its simpler and primitive State, for fear of prejudicing the Jews against it, upon the footing it was from thenceforward to be established amongst them \*. --- Here again, Philemon, as before, if there fubfifted so clear and uninterrupted a Tradition of the Origin and primitive Acceptance

Revelation Exam. p. 137.

ed Tra. hich he inty and n apt to uestion, w Convhile, if ws fuch acrifices ment to Mofes's ns, is it that, in r Sacrishould hat not should om the Et itself we are s second ed with might to it in fear of on the to be - Here re fub-Tradieptance

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of Sacrifice, as is pretended, is it not hard to conceive, that the Tradition should have stopped there, and not have brought down some Notices of the Manner and Circumfances of the Rite, as well as of the Rite itself? Is it not very happy for our Author, that the Tradition should be clear and minterrupted. just so far as it suits his purpose to have it so; and dark, and broken in ill other respects? Or shall we say indeed, that he has the best Right to adjust for us the Contents of a Tradition, which feems indebted wholly to the Fruitfulness of his Imagination for its very Being? But let us admit the two Parts of our Author's Answer to the Question before us to be ever 6 confistent with each other, still I must observe, that the latter Part of it appears to me to be founded upon a false Thought; and that the Reason he gives for Moses's avoiding to fuggest any Comparison to his Countrymen between the first Institution of Sacrifice, and the second, might more naturally have led him to direct contrary Measures. For the Jews, at this second Institution, as 'tis called, of Sacrifice, were but newly come out of Egypt, a Land, you know, of Superstition and Ceremonies; where they had contracted fuch a Fondness for the more operose Modes of Egyptian Worship, that the Simplicity of the first Ritual of Sacrifice would probably have

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been so far from giving them any Prejudice against the more encumbered State of the fecond, that it would rather have recommended it to them upon the Comparison, as being more in the prevailing Taste of the then present Times. Upon the whole, therefore, for any thing here advanced, we may still, I think, urge the Silence of Mofes, as to the divine Institution of Sacrifice, as a strong general Presumption against such Institution. Nor let the concise Turn of the Mosaic History, and its bearing a principal Reference to some particular Points only, be admitted in bar to this Prefumption: It being evident from the Prohibition to Noah of eating Flesh with the Blood thereof, so circumstantially delivered in the Book of Genesis \*, that, notwithstanding the Circumstances but now mentioned, the Historian can sometimes particularize a Fact, not related to his principal Purpose in writing, when it is of fuch a nature as to deferve his Notice: And I cannot but think the Command of facrificing, if fuch Command had indeed ever been given by God, was as likely to have found a place in the Mofaic History, as the Prohibition to Noah of eating Blood. But here, Philemon, to look back a little to our first setting out in the present Argument, it may naturally enough be inquired, if Sacrifice was originally

<sup>\*</sup> Genesis ix. ver. 4, 5.

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nally a mere human Institution, and Abel's Offering, spoken of in Genefis, a matter of Will-Worship only, why is his Faith, as tefified by his voluntary Act of facrificing to God, so celebrated in the eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Author of that Epistle is treating altogether of Instances of Faith in some express and pofitive Revelation? So, I am aware, he is fometimes faid to be \*; with what Justness will be best seen, by examining a particular Case or two, which we find there recorded. To mention, for example, the Case of Enoch .-- The Faith of this excellent Person, in virtue whereof he obtained the especial Privilege of a Translation, is by the Apostle expressly described to have been a Faith in some future Recompence of Reward, in consequence of his walking with, or pleasing God, throughout the whole Tenor of his Life +: An Expectation, which there is not a word faid, either by Moses, or the Apostle, of his having had supernaturally communicated to him; and which we may therefore, I think, fairly presume to have been the rational Result of his own conscious Virtue. In like manner, the Faith of Rahab, celebrated in the same Chapter, whereby she received the Spies of Israel with Peace.

<sup>\*</sup> See Shuck. Con. 1. p. 86, 87. Rev. Exam.

1. p. 133-4-5.

† Heb. xi. ver. 5, 6. Gen. v. ver. 24.

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Peace \*, was not a Faith or Belief in any positive Revelation she had received from Heaven for that purpose; but the Effect of her own Reasoning upon the Accounts she had heard of certain extraordinary Interpofitions of divine Power on the behalf of the Ifraelites; from whence having inferr'd, that the future Success of their Affairs would prove agreeable to the paft, she was led to make a timely Provision for the Security of herself, and her Family, against the Prospect fhe entertained of the approaching Ruin of her Country ‡. And why now, I would gladly know, might not the Faith of Abel be celebrated by our Apostle upon the same grounds with that of Enoch, or Rabab; not, you fee, as a Belief in any explicite Revelation, but as a Principle of general Trust only in the Goodness and Power of God? Sure I am, the great Purpose of the sacred Writer, in the Chapter we are speaking of, is fully answered by this Explication.

THAT Abel might deserve (I interposed here) to be commended by the Apostle for his general Faith only, or religious Trust in God, is much easier to be admitted, than it is to conceive, whence he came to think of expressing that Faith by the particular Action of sacrificing to him. For what could

<sup>\*</sup> Heb. xi. ver. 31. ‡ Josh. vi. ver. 9, to 14.

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he was paying a becoming Honour to his Creator, when he was offering to him a little Wool or Cream from a Firstling of his Flock? Things which, he could not but observe, derived their whole Value, with regard to himself, from a certain relative Accommodation to his personal Use and Convenience, and could therefore have none at all, with regard to his Maker, in whom this Use and Convenience had no Place?

This would have been very good Reasoning, (replied He) Philemon; but why must you suppose Abel to have thought as justly upon this matter, as you do? Might he not be a very good Man, without being a good Reasoner? A Piety of Intention, you know, is not necessarily connected with a Soundness of Judgment: You must have met with many Instances, besides this, of a very honest Meaning in Religion, where there has not always been an equal Depth of Understanding. It is a very natural Prejudice in all rude and untutored Minds to fancy every thing they are concerned with thinks and feels in the same manner, which they themselves do. Whence else was it, Philemon, to reason with you from your own Experience, that, during the earlier Years of your Childhood, you scarce ever, I dare fay, got a Blow, or a Fall, but the thing

which struck, or hurt you, was the immediate Object of your Displeasure, however insensible in itself of the Injury it had done you? Infomuch that many times a By-stander has been obliged to take up your Quarrel against your supposed Enemy, and pacify your Resentment, by giving you a fictitious Revenge? Whence again was it else, that, if at any time you was in a more than ordinary good Humour, or had entered into a particular Fondness for certain of the Persons intrusted with the Care of you, you was continually almost imparting to them a Share of whatever you took delight in; which you therefore prefumed upon their being pleased with, because you was first so yourself? Now, what is thus the Foible of each individual Man, in his own particular State of Infancy, why may we not suppose to have been the Foible of Mankind, under the general Infancy, if I may fo call it, of the human Species? Why should not a Generation of Children (Children, I mean, in Understanding) act the fame abfurd Part towards their great common Benefactor, which we can each of us remember formerly to have done towards our particular and private Ones, that is to fay, Measure his Disposition by their own; and attribute to him an especial Interest in those things, in which they were most interested themselves?

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You know (faid I) Hortenfius, I never had any great Idea of the intellectual State of Affairs in the first Ages of Mankind. Nevertheless, this, I must own, is so very disparaging an one, that nothing, I believe, would prevail with me to enter into it, but my not being able to account for the original Motives of their sacrificing upon any other.

THE Reluctance (replied He) you feem to express to come into this Representation of the primitive Times proceeds altogether from your happening to live in more improved ones: and you are yourfelf at this instant an Example, in some degree, of the very Foible charged upon the first Ages of the World, whilst you thus transfer to them the Sentiments of your own. But this is after all a very natural Prejudice; and I can much fooner excuse it in you, Philemon, than in a certain Writer upon our present Subject; who, whilft he makes great Demands upon the Powers of unaffifted Reafon in the Case of Sacrifice in particular, affects to entertain the most slighting Conceptions of them, as to all other religious Purposes. "Reason, says He, if it led " Men to any, would lead them to a rea-" fonable Service. But the Worship of "God in the way of Sacrifice cannot, I G2

" think, appear to be of this fort, if we " take away the Reason that may be given " for it from Revelation \*." - Again, " It " can never be made out from any natural " Notions of God, that Sacrifices are a reasonable Method to obtain, or return 55 Thanks for, the Favours of Heaven. The " Refult of a true rational Enquiry can " be this only, that God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in " Spirit and in Truth +." - Would you expect from hence to find the fame Writer, in a place I am going to read to you, after a Recital of some of the principal Absurdities of the Theology of the earlier Ages of Mankind, making this Observation? that " If we look back, and make a fair Inqui-" ry, we must certainly allow, that Reason " in these early Times, without the affi-" stance of Revelation, was not likely to of-" fer any thing but superstitious Trifles |"? And accordingly, you have him delivering it as his confirmed Judgment, "That there " never was any thing fo weak, extrava-" gant, or ridiculous, but Men eminent for " their natural Strength of Understanding " have been deceived to embrace and de-" fend it," as often as they pretended to thinking for themselves in Religion, and " attempted

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<sup>\*</sup> Shuck. Vol. 1. p. 82.

<sup>+</sup> Si.uck. p. 83.

<sup>1</sup> Shuck. Vol. 2. p. 305.

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" attempted to let up what they thought a " reasonable Scheme of it ‡,"—Is not this a little extraordinary, Philemon? For why, it may be asked, might not the same Perfons reason ill in the matter of Sacrifices, who did fo in every thing besides? But here, quite contrary to our Author's general Tenor of thinking, Reason, you find, if it leads Men to any, must lead them to a reafonable Service .- Nothing weak, nothing extravagant, nothing ridiculous, nothing of Superstitious Trisling, is to be admitted into this one Article of the ancient Religion, altho' there is scarce any thing, but what is so, to be met with in all the others. Such a Justness of Thought, it seems, was there in the World at the time when Sacrifice made it's first Entrance into it, that nothing would then go down with Mankind, but what was " the Refult of a true rational " Enquiry."

You know (faid I) Hortensius, this was during the Antediluvian Age. Possibly the intellectual World might be as great a Sufferer by the Deluge, as, we are told, I think, was the natural one; and Mens Ideas of divine Matters might be so totally discomposed during the Course of that Phænomenon, that they could never afterwards recover

<sup>‡</sup> Shuck. Vol. 2. p. 305.

recover their first Rightness of Apprehension in them.

RATHER, Philemon, (returned He) let us say here, that the divine Origin of Sacrifice was, for Reasons, I think, not difficult to be conceived, a savourite Point with this learned Gentleman; and therefore every thing was to be kept out of view, which might reconcile us to it, as of human. A Concession, upon the present Occasion, in behalf of Reason, was as necessary to our Author's particular Purpose of Argument, as those discrediting Representations, he is so fond of making of it, in the course of his Connections at large, are to his general one,

THE more (interposed I) Hortenfius, I reflecton what you have been discoursing, concerning the weak and infant State of thinking in more remote Antiquity, the more I find myself disposed to acquiesce in it. I will suppose then, that the Gratitude of the first Ages towards their Creator was of a like injudicious kind, with that of Children, within our own Observation, towards the favourite Objects of their Affections. But here, a Difficulty, I think, arises to be accounted for, which is not without its weight. For does it not put a material Difference between the two Cases here supposed, that, in the one, the Object of Gratitude is likewile

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wife one of Sight and Sense; admits of an immediate Application to its Interests; and by certain visible, however seigned, Expressions of its good-liking of what is given to it, condefcends usually to flatter and encourage the credulous Generofity of the Giver? Whereas, in the other case, the Benefactor concerned is a remote and invifible one; no certain Access is to be had to his Presence; no flattering Tokens are afforded of his Approbation? Would it not then greatly check the officious Zeal of the first Sacrificer, that he could neither know in what manner he might best address his intended Oblation, nor, after he had made choice of any particular Manner of doing it, have any fatisfactory Assurance that he had chosen rightly?

You are still (answered He) Philemon, relapsing into your old Prejudice, of considering him as an exact and scrupulous Reasoner. On the contrary, the Fact probably would be, that having once formally set apart from his own Use the Matter of his Offering, and upon Examination afterwards sinding it to have been consumed or disposed of in some way or other which had escaped his Observance, he would from hence fondly delude himself, that it had in sact been applied that way, which he in imagination had designed it should be. There would

would be the greater Colour for fuch a Delufion, as the Being to whom he had addreffed his Oblation was by Supposition an invisible one, of whose Acceptance of it therefore he would not expect to be convinced by any direct and fenfible Proofs. Something of this kind feems to have been the Reasoning of the Scythian Sacrificers mentioned by Herodotus; who, when they had duely prepared and dreffed their Victim used, it feems, no other Ceremony in asfigning the Gods their Portion of it, than that of the Offerer's casting it down before him in the Temple \*. And in their Sacrifices to Mars, of every hundredth Captive they had taken in War, their Practice was, to cut off the right Arms of the unhappy Subjects of this Cruelty, and throw them up into the Air, to fall wherever Chance might direct them +. What I have been here faying, Philemon, you will observe,

Επεαν δε εψηθη τα κρέα, ο θυσας των κρέων και των σπλαγχνων απαρξαμένος, ριπίει ες το εμπροσθέν.

Herod. Lib. 4. cap. 61. Ed. Gale.

Τ Επι τουτου δε του σγκου ακινακης ζιδηρεος ιδρυται αρχαίος έκας οισι' και τουτ' ες ι του Αρήος το αγαλμα' και δη και τοισδ' ετι ωλεω θυουσι η τοισι αλλοιδι θεσισι' ο σους δ' αν των ωσλεμιων ζωγρησωσι, απο των έκατον ανδρων ανδρα ένα θυουσι, τροπω ου τω αυτω ω και τα ωροβατα, αλλ' έτεροιω' επεαν γαρ οινον επισπεισωσι κατα των κεφαλεων, αποσφαζουσι τους ανθρωπους ες αγίος και επειτα, ανενεικαντές ανω επι τον ογκον των φρυ-

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observe, supposes that the most ancient Sacrifices were performed without Fire: as indeed, from the Accounts we have of the Persian, Scythian, and some of the Greek and Roman Sacrifices being at all times performed in this manner, seems to me extremely probable \*. I am aware, in the mean while, that the common Opinion in this matter is against me; and that the Sacrifice of Abel in particular, as recorded in the Mosaic History, is generally thought to have been of the burnt, no less than the bloody, Kind: Infomuch that fome Writers have afferted, that, whereas God is represented in the Book of Genesis to have had Respect unto Abel and his Offering, the manner of fignifying this Respect was, by his fending down a miraculous Fire from Heaven

ταμνουτες ζυν τησι χερσι, ες του αερα ιεισι — χειρ δε δυγανων, καταχεουσι το άιμα του ακινακεος ανω μεν δη φορεουσι τουτο κατω δε παρα το ίρου ποιευσι ταδε των αποσφαίεντων ανδρων τους δεξιους ωμους παντας απο-

\* Θυσιη δε τοισι Περσησι ωερι τους ειρημενους θεους ηδε κατες ηκεε ουτε βωμους ωσιευνται, σιτε ωυρ ανακαιουσι μελλοντες θυτιν. Herod. Melp. cap. 132. vid. & Strab. Geogr. Lib. 15. p. 732. Ed. Cafaub. Herod. Melp. cap. 61. Αμελει και Βωμου ωροσκυνησαι μουου (Πυθαίοραν) εν Δηλω τον Απολλωνος του γενετορος, δια το ωυρους, και κριθας, και τα ποπανα μουα τιθεσθαι επ' αυθον ανευ πυρος. Diog. Laert. in Pythag. Lib. 8. Segm. 13. Paufan. Arcad. p. 237. 272—3. Xyl. Ed. Francof. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 328. Dionys. Halicarn. Ant. Rom. Lib. 2. p. 93.

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Heaven to consume it \*: whilst others have admitted, that the Fire upon this Occasion was of the Sacrificer's own kindling, but seem at the same time to have thought, that the particular Mode of sacrificing by Fire was in some sort suggested to him from above, by the Divine Being's having made use of it as the ordinary Symbol of his Presence in those infant Ages of Mankind †. You are no Stranger, Philemon, to part at least of this Hypothesis: I remember you gave some Intimations of an Acquaintance with it in one of our former Conferences.

You will remember too (said I) that I considered it there as an Hypothesis only, and laid no stress upon it, as indeed I would never allow myself to do upon what is thus entirely conjectural. But as to the Supreme Being's signifying an Approbation of Abel's Offering in any supernatural manner, that, I must own, I should very unwillingly subscribe to: inasmuch as I would not readily conceive of him as giving such signal Countenance to the original Practice of a Rite so

\* Vid. Grot. Annot. ad Gen. iv. Com. 4. Conf. Cleric. in Gen. iv. Com. 4.

|| See Philemon to Hydaspes, Part 3. p. 66.

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tual and

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<sup>†</sup> Nec absurda forsan conjectura est Patriarchas eorum dona libentius igni tradidisse, quod Deus, aut Angelus Dei, sub ignis slammantis specie se visendum præbuisset. Spenc. de Leg. Hebræorum, Vol. 2. p. 772. Ed. Chappelow.

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unsuitable to him in itself, and so liable to be abused to the most unworthy Purposes in Religion. And tho' I am not altogether of Opinion with the learned Writer but now quoted by you, that the first Reasoners concerning a God must necessarily have concluded him to be a Spirit, yet I should be forry, methinks, to have them furnished by himself with so good a Pretence, as is here supposed, for thinking otherwise. In short, Hortensius, a mere Connivance or Condescension in this matter is with me, I confess, Difficulty sufficient, without loading it with the additional Weight of an actual and explicit Encouragement.

Without entering into this Argument (resumed Hortensius) which is beyond our present Purpose, now we are agreed concerning the Origin of Sacrifice in the World, let us attend a little to the historical Progress of it; and see how far the Course of Fact in this Article corresponds to our general Theory. It is the more common Opinion of Writers, who have treated of the Antediluvian Age of the World, that Mankind were then wholly Strangers to the Use of Animal-Food ‡: If this Account be true, it affords us, I think, a very strong Prefumption

<sup>†</sup> Vide Grot. Annot. ad Gen. ix. Com. 3. Cleric. in Gen. i. Com. 29. Shuck. Connect. Vol. 1, p. 90, 91.

fumption, contrary to what is as commonly supposed by most of the same Writers \* that they were no less Strangers to the Use of Animal-Sacrifices. For, as Porphyry, I remember, somewhere very justly observes, the Idea of a Sacrifice being that of an Acknowledgment made to the Gods of the good things provided by them for the Support and Service of Life, it would be both absurd and impious for such Persons to facrifice Animals, whose Practice it was to abstain from the eating of them +. 'Tis true, the Writers I am speaking of deny the eucharistical Nature of the Antediluvian Sacrifices, in which alone, it may be faid, confifts the Abfurdity, and Impiety here fuggested by our Philosopher. whatever may be thought of the Sacrifice of Abel, that of Noah, we have agreed, will not easily be proved to have been of the propitiatory Kind: and yet this, we know, was offered by the Patriarch, previously to his having received the Grant supposed to have been made to him of Animal-Food; from which, according to these Gentlemen, is originally to be derived the Liberty Mankind

\* See particularly Shuck. Connect. p. 80, 81.

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<sup>+</sup> Όλως δ' ει το της θυσιας απ αρχης εχει αξιαν και ευχαριστιαν ών παρα θεων εχομεν εις τας χρειας, αλογωθατον αν ειη αυτους απεχομενους των εμψυχων, τοις θεοις τουτων απαρχεσθαι. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 77. Ec. Holsten,

<sup>†</sup> See

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kind have fince taken in this Article, and by which alone it can be defended +.

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So (interrupted I) is often, I have obferved, afferted: and accordingly the Deift, if I mistake not, has been sometimes publickly challenged to make good his Claim. to a Flesh-diet exclusively of the Authority of his Bible \*, and charged in the mean time with an unwarrantable! Infringement herein upon the Believer's Privilege. But furely, without calling in the Affiftance of Revelation upon this Occasion, his Practice may be abundantly justified from the Nature of things. At least, Hortenfius, if it cannot, and he is in no case at liberty to eat, but where he can be secure not to kill, I know not from whence he is to be supplied with the necessary Means of his Subfistence in Life; now that Microscopes are every where at hand, to convict him of numberless inevitable Murders in the Use even of a vegetable Diet: Infomuch that the most scrupulous Conformist to a Regimen of this fort, who, in the Tenderness of his regard to the Preservation of Animal-Life, should, with the Miser in the Poet, live altogether Herbis & Urtica ‡, would yet be in fact all this while committing as real, tho' unfufpected

<sup>†</sup> See Revelation Exam. &c. Vol. 2. p. 10. and p.

<sup>\*</sup> See Reyntlds's Three Letters to a Deist, Lett. 1. † Horat. Epist. Lib. 1. Epist. 12. ver. 7, 8.

he would be the forwardest to charge with so doing.

THAT the Deift (replied Hortenfius) has a very good Title to Animal-Food, without producing his Warrant for it from the Bible, is a Point he chall never hear me difputing with him. Had he no other Plea to offer for his Practice, the Example of it afforded him throughout the whole Animal World around him might, I think, be admitted as a very plaulible one. To fay the truth, Philemon, the striking Notoriety of the Fact I am here hinting at must ever, it should feem, have suggested to Mankind so fitrong a Prefumption of their Liberty to eat Floth, that I can fcarge conceive the World to have continued in Being for above fixteen hundred Years together before the Flood, and Men all this while to have religiously abstained from the Use of Animal-Food, merely because they had never received an especial Grant of it from Heaven: Unless it be, that we are to credit what the Poets fable of their Golden Age, and what has indeed been fometimes thought to be countenanced by Scripture itself, that the Instinct we now find in Animals to prey upon one another was no Part of their original Constitution, but an Article rather of that univerfal Depravation of Manners, which over**fpread** 

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foreation, when all Flesh had corrupted his way upon the Earth \*. And agreeably to this Notion, the Passage of Scripture, we are generally taught to look upon as an original Grant to Mankind of the Liberty of a Flesh-Diet, may possibly, I have often thought, be nothing more than a Regulation there first introduced into a preceding Practice of this kind: not so properly a Warrant to them to eat Flesh, as a Restriction from a particular Manner of eating it, the eating it with the Life thereof, which is the Blood †.

You would consider then (said I) Hortensius, what is usually called the Grant in this Case as a kind of Preamble, if I may so speak, to the subsequent Prohibition: or, in other words, when Moses in the Book of Genesis, now before me, represents God as saying to Mankind, in the Persons of Noah and his Sons, "Every moving thing that "liveth shall be Meat for you; even as the "green Herb have I given you all things: "but Flesh with the Life thereof, which is "the Blood thereof, shall you not eat." The Sense, you conceive, may be——Whereas

† Gen. ix. ver. 3, 4.

<sup>\*</sup> Non ergo ab initio animantia animantibus vescebantur, sed tum demum id cœptum fieri, cum non homines tantum, sed & alia animantia viam suam corruperunt. Grot. Annot. ad Gen. i. Com. 30.

in the Course of my natural Providence I have permitted you to acquire for yourselves the Use as well of Animals, as Vegetables, for your Food, I have only one Restraint, which I think proper to lay upon you in this matter, and that is, the requiring you from henceforth never to eat the Flesh of any living Creature, without first carefully draining it of its Blood.

You have expressed my Meaning very fully (said He) Philemon: The Creator here, as you have well distinguished, not intending to convey to Man any new Right over the inferior Animals, but rather to tie up his hands, in the Exercise of a Right he stood already possest of, from any wanton and unnecessary Acts of Cruelty: Upon Occasion, 'tis probable, of some unwarrantable Liberties of this kind, which had prevailed in the Antediluvian World.

THE Passage, (returned I) considered in this view, stands as a very apposite Presace to that solemn Prohibition of shedding human Blood, which is immediately subjoined to it ||. For the Pythagorean Doctrine, however overstrained in its Application, was certainly

| Videtur ergo Deus, veluti per Gradus quosdam, ad homicidium vetandum procedere, quorum primus hic est; nimirum licitam quidem hominibus Brutorum cædem, nec carnibus vesci vetitum, sed prius esse esfundendum tender
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Good Affection towards one another: And
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detable time, in the most infamous Breach shrish I les (suitestroll chemistry) esitter I us speciment of seven established in the contries by Persons here and there of

fundendum languinem. Sie eaim Deus homines fine immanitate brutis utendum docuit; nam cum effundi corum fanguis nequeat fine celeri morte, per exquistra veluti supplicia non este occidenda ostendit; ne homines primum brutis velcentes, permissione a Deo acceptà crudeliter sorte abuterentur, & fævitiæ assiefierent. Eo ergo interdicto, ad seritatem hominum inter se impediendam, viam sibi sternit Deus. Cleric, in Gen. ix. Com. 4.

Το Ποθαδορικοί την ωρος τα θηρια ωραστηλα μελετην εποιήσαντον ωρος το Φιλαυθρωπον, και Φιλοκτιρμού ή γαρ Curnbera θεινή τοις κατα μικρου εροίκειουμενοις ωσθεσι ωρραφαίτιν του αυθρωπου. Plut. de Salerta Anim. p. 959 — 6σι Ed. Χεί. Και γαρ, ει μεθεν αλλο, ωρος γε την κατ αλληλών εκεχειριών μεγαλα ωαντες ουηθείημεν ων οις γουν ή αισθησις του των αλλοθυλων άπλεσθαί ζωων απεκλινέν, τουτών ο νους ωροσηλες ές το ομοφυλών αφεξομένος. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 76. Τις γαρ αν αδικησειεν αυθρωπον όυτω ωρος αλλοτρια κανα και ασυμφολα διακειμένος και ωραως και Φιλαυθρωπως; Plut. de Esu Carn. p. 996.

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Defign of the Precept we are speaking of one cannot but regret, that the Observe of it, in the Ages fucceeding the Difperfion of the human Race from Shinage. should have been confined wholly to a finall Proportion only of Noab's Descendents; while the far greater Part of Mankind, finking, as should feem, from thencefor ward into a long and absolute Barbarian both of Thinking and Manners, lived, there is great reason to apprehend, for a confiderable time, in the most infamous Breach of it. For in the Accounts delivered to us by Antiquity of the first civilizing of particular Countries by Persons here and there of a more improved Turn happening to visit, or fettle in them at different Seafons, one Circumstance of their History constantly infifted on is that of their introducing into those Countries a general Reformation of Diet; or persuading the Natives to live first upon the wild, and afterwards upon the more cultivated Produce of the Earth; as if before they had led the Lives of wild Beafts, feeding, as they had Opportunity, on the crude Flesh of other Animals, if not even on the more helpless Part of their own Species \*. The Picture here, Philemon, I am fenfible, must be shocking, to a degree

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ταμενου μεταθεσθ τεως των χειν απε; Lib. 1. p πρεσθυτα θρωπους

Diod. Sic Silv Car

Fast. Lib 89, & sec

<sup>\*</sup> Πρωτού μεν γαρ ωαυσαι (του Οσιριν) της αλληλο-Φαίας το των αυθρωπων γενος, ευρουσης μευ Ισιδος τουτε του πυρου και της κριθης καρπου, του δε Οσιριδος επινοησαμενου

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perhaps of appearing even Romantic, to a Person of your improved and delicate Humanity. But the History, I must observe, of modern Barbarians does but too amply confirm the Probability of what is here juggested of ancient ones. And, if this was really their Case, the Age, in which they first made the happy Exchange of berbatous, for civil, Manners, could feater fail of being celebrated by them every where in Terms of the most heightened Panegyrie; which, is meanly accommodated, in every respect, as it may appear to have been with regard to later times, they might have reason to esteem a Golden Age to those which had gone before it. Now the Matter of Mens Diet, in these first Ages of restored Civility and focial Manners, being thus confined to things without Life, their Sacrifices, we are naturally led to infer, must have been so likewise.

ταμενου την τουτων κατεργασιαν των καρπων ήδεως δε μεταθεσθαι ωανίας την τροφην, δια τε την ήδουην της φυσεως των ευρεθενίων, και δια το φαινεσθαι συμφερον υπαρχειν απεχεσθαι της κατ' αλληλων ωμοτητος. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 13. Ed. Rhodoman. Του μεν ουν Κρονον ουτα ωρεσθυτατον βασιλεα γενεσθαι, και τους κατ' αυτου ανθρωπους εξ αγριου διαίτης εις βιον ήμερον μετας ησαι. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 334.

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum Cædibus & vietu sædo deterruit Orpheus. Horat. de Arte Poet. v. 391-2. Lucret. Lib. 5. Ovid. Fast. Lib. 2. v. 289-302. Metamorph. Lib. 5. v. 89, & seq.

likewise narand agreeably hereunto Writ ters, who have traced back the History of Sacrifices ito more remoter Antiquity, acquaint use that the first religious Offerings to the Gods were only "green Herbs, the Down as it were; of fruitful Nature, which Men plucked up by the Roots with their Hands and burned in Sacrifice to the celeftial Dei ties." After this they proceeded to offer Acorns, and Oak-Leaves; then Nuts; then whole Barley; and, upon the Invention of the Grinding-Mill, Meal; then again a kind of Meal-Cake; and lastly, as they became in time acquainted with the Uses, and Preparations of them, all forts of Fruits, and Grain, accompanied with choice Perfumes fuch as they esteemed worthy to entertain the Senses of Divine Beings +. In like manner, the ancient Libation, or Drinksgringled to infer, much have been to

† Αναριθμος μεν τις ερικεν ειναι χρουρς, αφ' όυ τοίε φαντων λογιωτατου γενος, ώς Φησι ΘεοΦρας ος, ηρξαίο πρωίου εφ' ές ιας τοις ουρανιοις θερις θυειν, ου σμυρνης, ουδε κασιας, και λιδαρωτου κροκω μιχθεντων απαρχας—αλλα χλοης, οιου ει τινα της γονιμου Φυσεως χνουν, ταις χερσιν αραμένοι πες (ποας), δρεπομένοι Φυλλα και ρίζας, και τους ολους της Φυσεως αυτών Βλας ους, κατεκαιο, ταυτη τους Φαινομένους ουρανιους θεους τη θυσια δεξιουμένοι. Porph. de Abít. Lib. 2. p. 53. Δευος καρποραίησαντες, της μεν τροφης δια την σπανιν μικρα, των δε Φυλλων αυτοις πλειω τοις θεοις εις τας θυσιας ανηπίου μετα δε ταυτα και θυματα εκι των καρυων, ωλις δευος εφη. του δε Δημητρείου καρπού μετα του χεποροπα

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δροπά τος χυτειτο κ μος — του θευτος, αι πυρ τοις τιθευτο το τοις Θεοις ουκ ελατίο βιω, και Abft. Lib

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Offering, was, as the fame Writers inform us tof Water then it came to be of Honey mext of Oil and last of all of Wine \* Milkalikewife was fometimes used as a Drink-Offering: Thus, not to repeat what has been already fuggested in the Case of Abel's Sacrifice, the Perfiant, when they facrificed to the Element of Water are by Strabo related to have poured forth upon the Ground a certain Mixture of Oil, Milk and Honey +. And a very great Mafter of Antiquity gives it has as his Opinion, that the Ceremony performed daily to Oficis, and Ifist in one of the Islands of the Nile, of filling feveral Veffels with Milk at one of the pretended Places of their Interment, as menan World in a liferal

δροπά πρώτου Φαγεντος κρίθων, ταυταις απ' αρχης συλοχυτειτο κατα τας πρώτας θυσιας το των ανθρωπων γερος—του δ'αληλεσμένου βιου παρα το προσθεν μακαρισδευτος, απηρξανίο τε της ψαισθείσης προΦης πρώτου είς πυρ τοις θεοις — αΦ' ών όρμωμενοις μεν — προσετίθευτο πελανών ήδη και των λοιπών απαντών απαρχαι τοις θεοις είς τας θυσιας πολλα μεν ανθολογούντων, ουκ ελατίω δε τουτών μιγνύντων τοτε εί τι κάλον είχον εν βιώ, και πρεπον οσμη προς θειαν αισθησιν. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 53-4-5.

\* Τα μευ αρχάια των Γερων υπραλία τά σε μετα ταυτα πο υπραλια δες το τα υδροσπουδα, τά σε μετα ταυτα μελισπουδα, τουτού και ετοιμόν παρα μελιτίων πρωτού ελαδομεν του υίρου καρπου, ειτ ελαιοσπουδα, τελος δ'επι πασιν τα υς ερα γείονοία οινοσπουδα. Ibid. p. 66.

† Αποσπευδουτες ελαιου όμου γαλακίι και μελιτι εκραμευου, ουκ ες πυρ, ουχ' ύδωρ, αλλ' ες τουδαφος. Strab. Geog. Lib. 15. p. 733.

Libation of Milk to the Manes of these two deified Egyptions . And as we find the Sacrifide of manimate things only thus sook ken of by the Pagan Writers, as of a superior Antiquity to that of Animals, so it seems in all Ages to have been considered by them, as of a somewhat superior Since tity.

Grand a certain Mixture of Oil, Milk and

Tites (fait I) it might very naturally be Hortenfus, hipposing it, as in your Account, to have been every where introduced and established by the Heroes of the Golden Age: For these Heroes having been all defied upon their Decease, it was to the substeding Ages of the Pagan World in a literal Sense the Institution of the Gods themselves, And indeed, befides that it had thus the immediate Sanction of their divine Author rity, it had, methinks, upon Pagan Principles a more particular Accommodation to their Natures. For they are feveral of them delivered down to us, you know, in the Pagan Records of Antiquity, as the Perfons who first taught Men, whilst they were as yet living upon Earth, the Arts of Plantation and Agriculture; and agreeably to this Notion of them, they were conceived of after Death, as Demons, a great

Cler, in Gen. Cap. iv. Com. 4. Diod. Sic. Lib. In p. 19.

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cloathed with an aerial Vehicle, ranging at pleasure throughout the Earth, the Promoters of its Fruitfulness." To Gods of this Character a Sacrifice of the Fruits of the Earth might well be esteemed of all others the most acceptable one, as it not only pointed back to one of the chief original Reasons of their Deisication, but was moreover peculiarly adapted to their supposed Office and Employment under it.

WHETHER (refumed Hortensius) it was an Effect of this Principle, or of mere Accident, I will not venture to say; but the Practice of offering unbloody Sacrifices only was at some Altars religiously observed, even to the latest times of Paganism. Of this kind were those appointed by Cecrops in the City of Athens to Jupiter, to whom he is said to have first erected an Altar under the Character

† Hef. Op. & Di. v. 125, 126. Ed. Cleric. Vid. & Heinsii Not. in Loc.

Character of the Supreme God to So again; at the Altar of Ceres near Phigalia in Arcadio, confecrated to her by the Epithet of Ceres the Mourner, in memory of the Affliction the was in for the Rape of Proferpine, the only Sacrifices allowed to be offered were certain cultivated Fruits, in particular Grapes, together with Honey-combs, Wool, fuch as it was taken from the Body of the Sheep which bore it; and Oil +. The fame Writer, who mentions this Alter of Ceres, tells us also of a little one near the Tomb of Neoptolemus at Delphi, where an Oblation was every day made of Oil, and upon extraordinary Solemnities, of uncombed Wool. The Tradition, it feems, concerning this Altar was that it was the Stone which Saturn had fwallowed in the place of his Son Ju-, ratid Othice and Employment under it.

\* Ο μενγαρ (Κεκροψ) Δια τε ονομασεν ύπατον πρωτος, και όποσα εχει ψυχην, τουτων μεν αξιωσεν ουδεν θυσαι, πεμματα δε επιχωρια επι του βωμου καθηίσεν, α πελα νους καλουσι ετι και ες ήμας Αθηναιοι. Paulan. Arcad. p. 237. Ed. Calaub.

Ταυτης δε μαλις α εγω της Δημητρος ένεια ες Φιγαλιαν αθικομην, και εθυσα τη θεω, καθ'α και δι επιχωριοι νομιζουσιν, ουθέν τα δε απο των δευθρων των ήμερων τα τε αλλα, και αμπελου καρπου, και μελισσων τε κηρια, και εριων τα μη ες εργασιαν σω ήκοθα, αλλ' ετι αναπλεα του οισυπου, ά τιθεασι επι τον βωμον ωκοδομημενου προ του σπηλαιου. Θενθες δε καταχεύσιν αυτών ελαιον ταυτα ιδιωταις τε ανδρασι και ανα σαν ετος τω κοινω καθες ηκεν ες την θυσιαν. Paufan. Arcad. p. 272—3.

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† Επο γας: τουν ξοστην έκα ες αυτον, ημεσεν αυ

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piter, and had afterwards brought up again f. Both Diogenes Laertius, and Porphyry acquaint us, that in the Island of Delos was an Altar of Apollo, furnamed Genitor, or Father, at which it was held absolutely unlawful to hed Blood; a Circumflance, which, Laertius observes, particularly recommended this Altar to the Philosopher Pythagoras, and which, according to Porphyry, occafioned it to be emphatically styled the Alter of the Pious 1. What has been remarked here of some of the Grecian Sacrifices, a celebrated Roman Historian informs us was fometimes the Case, even in his time, of the Roman ones. He had himself, he says, been a Spectator of some Offerings made to the Gods altogether in the old Tafte; which confisted wholly of certain Preparations of Barley, and Wheat, of Fruits, and fuch like fimple Ingredients, without any of that ridiculous Extravagance introduced in later times into their Worship, and which were placed

† Επαναθαντι δε απο του μυηματος λίθος ες ιν ου μεγας' τουτου και ελαιου οσημεραι καταχεουσι, και κατα
εροτην έκας ην ερια επιτίθεασι τα αργα' ες ι δε και δοξα
ες αυτου, δοθηναι Κρονω του λίθου αντι του ωαιδος, και ώς
ημετεν αυτου ο Κρονος. Paufan. Phoc. p. 341.

ΤΑμελει και βωμου Προτκυνηται μουου Πυθαγοραν) τι Δηλω του Απολλωνος του γενετορος κ τ λ. Diog. Laert. in Pythag. Lib. 8. Segm. 13. Θεωρησαι δε ες τιν εκ του περι Δηλου ετι νυν σωζομενου βωμου, προς ου ουθευος προσαγομενου παρι αυτοις, ουδε θυομενου επ' αυτου ζωου, ε.σεδων κεκληται βωμος. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 73.

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placed on Tables of Wood, in Plates of Potter's Earth; the Libation too being mixed up, not in Veffels of Silver, or Gold, but in Cups of the same humble Composition: and wherever he had met with Practices of this kind, he could not but greatly appland the Observers of them, for adhering so strictly to the Usages of their Forefathers, and not exchanging the frugal Simplicity of the ancient Oblations, for the oftentatious Coffliness of modern ones \*. It was upon this Principle, no doubt, that the Pythia at Delphi affected upon several Occasions to prefer the more cheap and ordinary kinds of Sacrifice to those of the greatest Expence and Magnificence. Thus, we are told, after a Defeat of the Carthaginians by an adverse Power, when the Heads of the conquering Party were presenting their respective Hecatombs to Apollo, and striving each to excel the other in the Choice and Value of his Oblation, upon inquiring of him with which

\* Εγω γουν εθεασαμην εν ίεραις οικιαις δειπνα ωροσκειμενα θεοις, εν τραπεζαις ξυλιναις αρχαικαις, εν κανοις και ωινακισκοις κεραμιοις, αλΦιτων μαζας και
ποπανα, και ζεας, και καρπων τινων απαρχας, και
αλλα τοιαυτα λιτα, και ευδαπανα, και ωασης απειροκαλιας απηλλαίμενα. και σπουδας ειδον είκεκραμμενας
ουκ εν αργυροις και χρυσοις αγίεσιν, αλλ' εν ος ρακιναις
κυλισκαις και ωροχοις' και ηγασθην των ανδρων ότι διαμενουσιν εν τοις ωατριοις εθεσιν, υυδεν εξαλλατίοντες των
αρχαιων ίερων εις την αλαζονα ωολυτελειαν. Dion.
Hal. Ant. Rom. Lib. 2. p. 93. Ed. Sylburg.

which the A or thr cimus, Owne Groun his Al them tain ri to per came i in exp himfel Pythia zealou Gods; That i tle Vi religio inquire of Wo was a

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which of their Offerings he was best pleased. the Answer he returned was, that the two or three handfuls of Meal, which one Docimus, an Inhabitant of Delphi, and the Owner of a little barren and rocky Piece of Ground there, had that day strewed upon his Altar, were of more worth to him than them all +. In like manner, when a certain rich Magnesian, who used every Year to perform a very costly Sacrifice at Delphi, came thither one Year for this purpose, and, in expectation of some high Compliment to himself upon the Occasion, desired of the Pythia to be informed, who was the most zealous and favourite Worshipper of the Her Reply to this Question was, That it was Clearchus of Methydrium, a little Village in Arcadia; the Sum of whose religious Merits, when the Magnefian had inquired of him what his particular Manner of Worship was, appeared to be, that he was a very punctual Observer of all stated Festivals; that once every Month he adorned Mer-

† Παρι ένιοις δ' ίς ορηται των συγίραφεων, των τιρανιων, μετα το κρατησαι Καρχηδινιών, έκατομβας κατα
ψολλην εριν την ωρος αλληλους εκπρεπεις ωαρας ησανίων
τω Απολλωνι, ειτα ωυνθανομενων άις ήσθειη μαλις α, ωαρ
ελπιδα ωασαν αυτων αποκρινασθαι, διοτι τοις Δοκιμου
ψαις οις. Δελφος δε ην ουτος, ζηληρα γεωργων ωέτριδια.
κατιων δε απο του χωριου εκεινης της ύμερας εκ της ωερικειμενης ωηρας των αλφιτων ολιγας δρακας εθυλησατο,
ωλεον τερψας τον θεον των μεγαλοπρεπεις θυσιας ζυντελεσαντων, Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 63.

Mercury, Hecate, and the Shrines of the other Gods of his Ancestors with Garlands, and presented before them Frankincense. Meal, and Cakes; that on all their Feast. Days he made an Oblation to them, not of any living Creature, but of the Fruits of his Ground, whatever kinds were then at hand, and lastly, that of the whole yearly Produce thereof he religiously consecrated to them the first Gatherings in their proper Season.

\* Outo de diaresperson wood no dasposion experie esc DEAPour, wounderen de exalquem no Sen, xon reunσανία μεγαλοπρεπως του Απολλώνα, παρελθεω εις το manteron xeuzubiagomenon, oromenon ge xayyrea manton ανθρώπων Βεραπευείν τους θεους, ερεσθαί την Πυθίαν του αρις α και σροθυμοίατα το δαιμονίου γεραιρουτα θεσπιταί, και του Φοιουντά τας θυσίας ΦροσΦιλεςατας, ύπολαμβανοντα δοθησεσθαι αυτώ το πρωτειον τη де івреган атокрінавває шантын арыта Эгратенен тону θεους Κλεαρχου κατοκουντα εν Μεθυδρίω της Αρκαδιας του δ' εκπλαγεντα εκτοπως επιθυμεισθαι τον ανθρω-TOO Ider. - o'mor o on Contaxonta to arger a fragas Φρασαι αυτω οντινα τροπον τους θεους τιμα; του δε Κλεαρχου Φαναι επιτελειν και σπουδαιως θυειν εν τοις προσηκουσι χρουοις, κατα μήνα έκας ου ταις υεομηνιαις (ε-Φανουντα και Φαιδρυνονία του Έρμην και την Έκατην, και τα λοιπα των έερων ά δη τους ωρογονους καταλιπειν, και τιμαν λιδανωτοις, και ψαιστοις, και σοπαvats nat eviautor de Judias Snuoteneis woieidai. παραλειπονία ουδεμιαν έορτην εν αυταις δε ταυταις θεεαπευειν τους θεους ου Βουθυτουντα, ουδε ίερεια κατακοπίουτα, αλλ' ό, τι αν ωαρατυχη, επιθυουτα, σπουδαζειν μενίοι απο ωαντων των ωεριγιίνομενων χαρπων και των ώραιων ά εκ της γης λαμβαίεται τοις θεοις τας απαρχας απονεμειν. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 62, 63.

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THERE was something (said I) very particular sure in the Circumstances of the Cases you have now mentioned, that could make the Oracle all on a sudden so wonderfully disinterested. For it was not by any means, I apprehend, the common Style of Divinity at the Delphie Shrine, that the more srugal the Gift, the more acceptable the Giver. There was some latent Policy, I make no question, in all Answers of this kind, if we were let into the true Secret of them; they were calculated for some present Turn of the Priests who dictated them.

As to the particular right-timing (returned He) of a Doctrine of this nature. for that we may fafely trust the long-approved Wifdom of Apollo's Priesthood, In the mean while, the general End they might propose to serve, by giving it out now and then, as a fit Opportunity offered, to the Public, might be occasionally to refresh upon Mens Minds that universal implicit Reverence for Antiquity, upon which they well knew, not only the Success of their separate Craft, but of the whole Pagan Superstition at large, was altogether suspended. For the Grounds thereof being laid in the rude Simplicity of the less enlightened Ages of the World, it would not endure the Test of a free and rational Scrutiny, but was to be

be upheld merely by a blind and bigotted Attachment to Authority and Prescription. The Oracle therefore might manifestly find its Account in here and there declaring it. felf to the Effect but now represented, if by fo doing it helped to support and encourage the Principle here supposed, and under an Appearance of Difregard to an immediate and particular Interest, was serving all the while a much more important and general one. These Oracular Decisions, Philemon, to mention it here in paffing, in behalf of inanimate Sacrifices as preferable to bloody ones, added to the Tradition upon which they were founded, of their being indeed the primitive Usage of Mankind, gave great Advantage to the Pythagorean Platonifts in defending their Doctrine of Abstinence from Animal-Food, (grounded chiefly upon their Belief in the Metempsychosis) against an Objection frequently made to it by their Adversaries in this Point, from the Practice of bloody Sacrifice as an established Article of Pagan Worship \*. 'Tis true in deed, they fometimes upon this Occasion affect to dispute the Consequence from sacrificing living Creatures, to feeding on them:

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<sup>\*</sup> Και μην και οι θέςι ζυνταξεις τε πολλοις θεραπειας ένεκα δεδωκασιν της εκ θηριων και πληρης γε η ίσορια ώς αυτοι προσεταξαν τισι και θυειν αυτοις και προσφερέσθαι των τυθέντων. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 1: p. 19.

<sup>#</sup> Πλ ως, ει θυ Lib. 2. 1 † Και τελες ικαι αλλα θη Ρωμαιοι

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them \*: But this way of Reasoning could no ways effectually ferve their purpole, as it was only applicable to certain mystic, or expiatory, or to human Sacrifices, and could not be extended to those of the more common and honorary kind; the matter of which, by the very nature of the Rite, and their own confessed Judgment concerning it, was to confift of fuch things as were in use with the Offerers for Food + Their only pertinent Answer in this case was, as has been faid, that it appeared from univerfal Tradition, and the occasional Declarations of the Gods themselves by their Oracles, that the primitive, and most acceptable Oblations to them were of things without Life only; but that the wanton Appetites of Men in After-Ages, lufting after Animal-Food, and feeking some plausible Pretence to introduce it, they had contrived to make the Gods appear to be the Patrons of this inhuman Piece of Luxury, and to fanctify, as it were, their defigned Innovation

\* Πλην όπερ εξ αρχης ελεγομεν μη ειναι αναίκαιον ώς, ει θυθεον ζωα, και βρωτεον παντως. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 87.

† Και θυομεν γε, εφην, ω μακαριε ιχθυας εν τισι τελες ικαις θυσιαις ως ίππον Ρωμαιοι ως πολλα και αλλα θηρια και ζωα, κυνας ισως Έλληνες Έκατη και Ρωμαιοι δε και πολλα παρ αλλοις ες ι των τελες ιπου και δημοσια ταις πολεσιν απαζ του ετους, η δις, τοιαυτα θυματα αλλ' ουκ εν ταις τιμητηριαις, ερ' τοιαυτα θυματα αλλ τραπεζων θεοις. Julian. p. 331. Paris 1630. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 77.

upon the Diet of their Forefathers by the Pretence of an Improvement upon their Sacrifices I. And the Fact here, Philemon, is, I believe, very rightly stated for us, that the Practice of offering Animals in facrifice to the Gods commenced with their being ferved up for Food at the Tables of their Worthippers: And both of these Practices were a Departure from the Usages of more early times, established by the first Civilizers of the Pagan World in different Countries, that is, in Pagan Language, established by the Gods themselves. But then the Reason of their being so was not, as our Philosophers would have it thought, that they held the killing Animals for Food a thing in its own nature criminal, but only, as I apprehend, that in order to the more effectual Security of civil and focial Manners amongst Mankind, they had every where abolished the favage Custom of feeding on the crude Flesh of Animals, and Men in this infant State of Society had not as yet arrived at the Art of preparing them for use by Fire.

THE Greeks (faid I) who have, you know, their Inventors for every thing, ascribe,

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Των δε τοις βιοις ήμων χρειαν τινα σαρασχομένων, η και τι εις ασολαυσιν εν αυτοις εχοντων ουθενος απεχοπεία, (Φατλοντες, ως αληθως, και δεροντες επί σρος ασιας του θειου — και θυομεν αυτων των θυσιμών συ τα τος θεοις, σολυ δε μαλλον τα ταις των ανθρωπων

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I think, this Art to their Prometheus | . he was the Inventor of a Practice, in the Establishment whereof amongst Mankind the Gods in general had so evident an Interest, methinks it is somewhat hard upon him, that his Character on all Occasions should be drawn to us as a Person remarkably odious to them. For tho' he is faid to have acted a little penuriously by Jupiter in the Affair of the old Sacrifice at Sicyon 1; yet in the main furely he was no bad Friend to the Altar of this God, if the Steam of all those numberless Victims, which in later times ascended to him from thence, was a Consequence of that Fire which Prometheus had first taught to be kindled upon it. Had Jupiter exerted a little of his divine Prescience in the Case before us, and, instead of dwelling wholly on a present Disappointment, extended his Views to the Advantage he was fure to reap in Futurity, from the

επιθυμιαις κεχαρισμενα, καταμαρτυρουντες ήμων τε αυτων ότι της απολαυσεως χαριν εμμενομέν τοις θέοις και τοις θυμασιν. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 70. 'Οθέν, ώς ουκ ατιμα ωσιουμένοι τα θέοις θυματα, γευσασθαι τουτων ωροηχθησαν — καθαπερ ουν το ωαλαιον απηρξαντό τε τοις θέοις των καρπων, και των απαρχθεντών ασπας ως μετα την όσιαν εγευσαντο, όυτω των ζωων καταρξαμένοι ταυτον ηγουντο δείν τουτο δραν. Ibid. p. 71.

Pifth. Movor Sew yas dia o'anardeau Cours. Aristoph. Av. p. 611. Bifet. vid. Schol. & Not. Ed. in

# Hef. Theog. v.535, & feq.

Art which Prometheus was now first teach. ing his Contemporaries, he would probably have behaved under it with more Temper than he is reprefented to have done, and not have fet himself " to confound," as Lucian has it, " Earth with Heaven, and think of nothing but Chains, and Crucifixion, and Caucasus, and Eagles," to revenge himself upon the unhappy Author of it \*. To me, I confess, as the matter is generally faid to have stood with Prometheus, he feems to have had a much juster Cause of Quartel against Jupiter, than Jupiter against him. And therefore I do not at all wonder to find him glorying fo much in Aristophanes, in the Comedy of the Birds, in his fettled Principle

\* Και ωρωτον μεν ακουσον τα ωέρι των κρεων και τοι, τη τον ουρανου, και νυν λεγων ταυτα αισχυνομαι υπερ TOU DIOS, EL OUTW MIXEODOJOS XXI MEMPINOIPOS ESTIV, WS -מוחוש שבעשבוט שמאמוסט סידש שבסט -- שב בצש סטלב שחווםνευειν εις την υς εραιαν ετι ωμην. του Δια, ουκ όπως και τηλικαυτα επ' αυτοις αγανακίησειν, και ωανδεινα ηγησεσθαι ωεπώθεναι, ει διανεμων τις κρεα ωαιδίαν τινα επαιζε ωειρωμενος ει διαγνωσεται το βελτιον ο αιρουμενος" τιθει δε ο Έρμη το χαλεπωταίου, μη την ελατίο μοιραν απονευεμηκευαι τω Διι, την δ' όλην ύφηρησθαι τι ουν δία τουτο εχερην, το του λογου, τη γη του ουρανου αναμεμιχθαι, και δέσμα, και σαυρους, και Καυκασον όλο επινόειν, και αετους καταπεμπειν, και το ηπαρ εκκοπ-Τεν ; όρα γαρ μη σολλην ταυτα κατηγορη του αγανακ-דסטעדסק מטדסט מואפסליעצומי, אמו מצציצומי דחק שישנוחק, και ωρος αργηυ ευχερειαν. Lucian. Prometh. p. 192-3. Ed. Amstelod. 1743. 4to. 1 Vol.

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ωμης, 92Principle of Enmity to all the Gods, and professing himself a very Timon in every thing which concerned their Interests +. And indeed his whole Business in this Comedy is very agreeable to fuch a Profession; for, upon Piftheterus's having finished his whimfical City in the Air, defigned for a Kingdom of Birds, which intercepted the ufual Communications between Heaven and Earth, Prometheus introduces himself to him, and acquaints him, to what an extreme Diffress he had reduced the Gods by the Execution of his late Project, through a Failure of their accustomed Sacrifices from Mankind; fuggesting to him at the same time, that if he and his Fellow Birds would but resolve never to sacrifice to them on their part, they might in a short time starve Jupiter by this means out of his supreme Government of the World ||, and get the univerfal

† Prom. Μισω δ'απαυτας τους θεους, ώς οισθα ζυ. Νη του Δι αιει δητα θεομισης έφυς. Pifthet. Tiμαν καθαρος -- Aristoph. Av. p. 611. Bifet, Prom. Prom. Axoue de vuv. Pift. ws axouortes heye. Απολωλεν ο Ζευς. Pift. ωπνικ ατ' αωωλετο; Prom. Εξ ουπερ υμεις ωχισατε του αερα. Prom. Θυει γαρ συδεις ουδευ ανθρωπων ετι • Θεοισιν, ουδε κνισσα μηριων απο Ανηλθεν ώς ήμας απ' εχεινού του χροιου. Αλλ' όσπερει Θεσμοροριοις, νηστευομεν Ανευ θυηλων οι δε Βαρξαροι θεοι Πεινωνίες, ώσπερ Ιλλυρίοι κεκειγοτες

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universal Empire of things restored again to the Nation of the Birds ‡, who, in the Doctrine of this Play, were the original, and only rightful Proprietors of it \*.

THE

Επιτρατευσειν Φασ' ανωθεν τω Διι Ει μη παρεξει τ' εμπορι' ανεωγμενα 'Ιν' εισαγοιντο σπλαγχνα κατατετμημενα. Arift. Av. p. 610, 11.

Το σκηπίρου ο Ζευς τοισιν Ορυισου ωαλιν.

Ibid.

● Pift. Όυτως ύμων ύπεραλγω

Οιτινές ουτές ωροτερου βασιλης. Chor. ημεις βασιλης; τινος; Pift. υμεις

Παντων 'οποσ' ες ιν' εμου ωρωτον τουδι' και του Διος αυτου

Αρχαιστεροι, προτεροι τε Κρουου, και Τιτανου

Και γης. Chor. και γης; Pift. νη του Απολλω.

Chor. Τουτι μα Δί ουκ επεπυσμην.

Pist. Αμαθης γαρεφυς, κ'ουπολυπραγμων, ουδ' Αισωπον Πεπατηκας

'Ος εφασκε λεγων Κορυδον παντων πρωτην ορνίθα Γενεσθαι

Προτεραν της γης.

Ερορς. Ουκουν δητ' ει ωροτεροι μεν γης ωροτεροι δε θεων εγενοντο

Ως ωρεσθυτατων αυτων οντων ορθως εσθ'η βασιλεια. Arift. Av. p. 563-4.

Chorus. Χαρς ην και νυξ ερεδος τε μελαν ωρωτον και ταρταρος ευρυς.

Γη δ', οιδ' απρ, ουδ' ουρανος ην' ερεδους δ'εν απει-

Τικτει πρωτισου υπηνεμιου νυξ ή μελανοπίερος Εξ

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Ibid.

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THE Accounts (faid Hortenfus) which Antiquity has given us of Prometheus are for full of fabulous and romantic Extravagance, that one knows not well what to make of him. In a Tragedy of Æschylus upon his Subject, he is complimented with Inventions of fo many different kinds as could fcarce, one would think, fall within the Compass of any fingle Genius; and looks more like a poetic Profopopæa of the Progress of human Art in general, than the Character of any particular Artist. If this was the Light in which he was confidered by the Ancients, they might naturally enough: represent him to us as a Person hated by the Gods +, whose Deification, you know, was the Creature altogether of the absolute Bar-

Βξ ου ωεριτελλομεναις ώραις εξλας εν Ερως ο ωσθεινος.

Στιλέων νωτον ωλεουγοιν χρυσαιν. εικώς ανεμω-

Ουτος δε χαει ω εροευτι μιγεις υυχιω κατα ταρταρου ευρυυ

Ευνεοτίευσε γενος ήμετερου, και ωρωτου αυηγαίευ

Προτερου δ' ουκ πυ γενος αθαυατών, πριυ Ερως

Πολυ Πρεσθυταίοι παντων μαχαρων.

Arist. Av. p. 573-4.

Τον Λιος εχθρον, τον ωασι θεοίς Δι' απεχθειας ελθοντ' όποσοι

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barism of the times they lived in, an Honour they would never have arrived at, but thro' the intire Ignorance of their Contemporaries in all the common Arts of focial Life. And indeed that the Course of Improvement herein was for fome time afterwards no very expeditious one, we may collect from the Account which our Poet makes Prometheus give of this matter to the Chorus of this his Tragedy: the Amount whereof is, that when Jupiter had defeated the Titons, and was quietly settled in his Throne, he employ'd his Thoughts fowholly. on appointing to the other Gods their feveral Honours and Offices under him, as intirely to neglect the Care of Mankind; infomuch that the Species must soon have come to an End, for want of the common Comforts and Conveniencies of Life, if himself had not on this Occasion taken pity upon them, and opened to them a more hopeful Prospect of Affairs. He found them, he fays, rather so many Figures in human Shape, than properly speaking Men; living under Ground like Ants, in Holes and Caves of the Earth; unacquainted with Building; without any Knowledge of the Seasons, by which to regulate their Agriculture; without the Use of Numbers, Writing, or any public Records

> Την Διος αυλην εισοιχνευσι Δια την λιαν Φιλοίητα βοστων. Æschyl. Prom. Vinc. v. 121, 124.

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cords of time and things; without any Notion of ferving themselves of the Strength or Speed of other Animals for the purposes of Draught or Burden; wholly ignorant of the Cure either of inward Differences, or external Wounds; of Divination in any of its Forms; of the Kinds and working of Metals. In one word, he affirms, that all Arts whatsoever, which Mankind were then possessed of, for the better Accommodation or Embellishment of Life, were originally derived to them from Prometheus\*. Now the historical Ground-work of this Representation I conceive to have been that, in

Του μη διαρραισθεύτας εις αδου μολειν.

Ακουσαθ΄ ως ζΦας νηπιους ουλας το πριν
Εννους εθηκα, και Φρενων επηδολους.
Οι πρωλα μεν, βλεπονλες εδλεπον ματην,
Κλυονλες ουκ ηκουου, αλλ' ονειραλων
Αλιίκιοι μορΦαισι, του μακρου χρουου
Εφυρου εικη πανλα, κ' ουτε πλινθυφεις
Δομους προσηλους ισαν, ου ξυλουρίαν.
Κατωρυχες δ' ενναιου, ως τ' αεισυροι
Κατωρυχες, ανλρων εκ μυχοις ανηλιοις.
Ην δ' ουδεν αυτοις ουτε χειμαλος τεκμαρ

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the Ages immediately succeeding the Restoration of Civility in Greece, the Minds of Men were so wholly taken up with contriving fuitable Expressions of their Gratitude to the Restorers of it (who yet had hitherto taught them only the bare Rudiments of more accommodated Life) that inflead of profiting, as they might have done, by their Instructions, they contented themselves with idolizing their Memories; and were employed for some time more in rejoicing that they had by their means gained the first Step from Brutality and Barbarism, than in endeavouring to gain any farther ones of themselves: till at length some more enterprizing Geniusses arose in the World, who, conceiving a Passion for Reputation, and struck with an Ambition to distinguish themselves to future Ages from the common Herd of their Contemporaries, (called in mythologic Language " Prometheus's having given them Fire from Heaven, as the great Instrument of various Arts, and by means of infusing into their Minds, Tuplas ελπιδας, blind Hopes, contrived to remove from

> Όυτ' ανθεμωδους ήρος, ουτε μαρπιμου Θερους βεδαιου, αλλ' ατερ γνωμης το ωαν Επρασσου, ες ε δη σΦιν αυτολας εγω Ας ρων εδειξα, τας τε δυσκριτους δυσεις. V. 441—457. vid. et v. 458 ad 467, 475 ad 505. Βραχει δε μυθω ωαντα ζυλληδόην μαθε, Πασαι τεχναι βροτοισίν εκ Προμηθέως.

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\* Chor Prom. Chor. Prom. Chor. Prom.

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from before their Eyes the immediate Prospect of Death †) set themselves to the still
sather Improvement of the several instant
Arts; refined upon the rude Inventions of
their Foresathers, and by degrees added the
Conveniencies and Ornaments to the mere
Necessaries of Life.

AND if Prometheus, (faid I) Hortenfius, thid thus in a Course of time intirely new mould, as it were, the human Species from what it was when it came, as we may say, immediately out of the hands of the Gods, it was a very pardonable Liberty which the Mythologists took in this matter, when they said of him, that he made Men †

" Chor. Ma weu ті шероцвия тында жан шерантеры ;

Prom. Ourrous T en avoa un mpodequeodas popor

Chor. To word super Thede Papuanos norou;

Prom. Τυφλας εν αυτοις ελπιδάς κατωκισα.

Chor. Μεγ ωΦελημα τουτ εδωρησω βροτοις

Prom. Προς τοισδε μεντοι συρ εγω σφιν ώπασα;
ΑΦ' ουγε σολλας εκμαθησούται τεχνας.

Τερι δε της ωλας ίκης, και ότι τους ανθρωπους εποιησα, καιρος ηδη λείειν — ην τοινυν παλαι (ραον γαρ όυτω δηλον αν γενοιτο, ει τι ηδικησα εγω μετακοσμησας και νεωθερισας τα ωερι τους ανθρωπους) το θειον μονον και το ίπουρανιον γενος—εγω δε εννοησα ώς αμεινον ειη, ολιίον όσον του πηλου λαβοντα ζωα τινά ζυσησασθαι, και αναπλασαι τας μορφας μεν ήμιν αυτοις ωροσεοικοτα. Lucian: Prometh. p. 194, 195. Vol. 1. 4to. Ed. Amstelod. 1743.

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I AGREE with you, (returned He.) But then, if the State of human Life, such as it came in your Expression out of the hands of the Gods, wanted to much the inventive Genius of a Prometheus, to bring it to any tolerable Degree of comfortable Accommodation, as the whole Ground of the Mythos here supposes, the Mythologists must excuse us, if we take leave to qualify a little their usual Representations of the Age of these Gods upon Earth; and whenever hereafter we find it spoken of as an Age of Gold, to understand this of its being fuch only in comparison with the more barbarous Ages preceeding it. And indeed, however little possibly it might be their Intention, under the very Ornaments of the Fable in this case they many times lead our Thoughts into the literal State and Circumstances of the History. Thus, when Hefood fays of the Heroes of this pretended golden Age, "that they lived altogether without Care, Labour, or Anxiety, abounding in delicious Fruits, and supplied by the spontaneous Produce of the Earth with all things requisite for their liberal Sustenance \*:" - And in another place, after complaining of the Avarice of

<sup>\*</sup> Χουσεού μεν το ωτις α γενος μεροπων ανθρωπων Αθανατοι το ιησαν ——
'Οι μεν επι Κρονου ησαν, ότ' ουξανω εμβασιλειεν 'Ως

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his own times, " in which Men were Strangers to the Doctrine, how much better in many cases half is than the whole, and knew not what Happiness was contained in a Diet of Mallows and Afphodel," when he tells us, " that the Gods had hid from Mankind the true Means and Manner of living ever fince Prometheus had deceived them; otherwise, a Man might have gathered as much of the Fruits of the Ground in one Day, as would have supplied his Necessities for a Year, tho' he should all the Remainder of that time have been intirely idle; he would have had no Occasion either for Sailing or Agriculture +."-Does he not to an attentive Observer fuggest here, M 2 that

Ως τε θεοι δ' εζωου, ακηδεα θυμου εχουτες, Νοσφιν ατερ ωονων και οιζυος— Αφνειοι μελοισι, φιλοι μακαρεσσι θεοισι εσθλα δε ωαντα

Τοισιν επν, καρπου δ' εφερε ζειδωρος αρουρα Αυτοματη πολλου τε και αφθουου.

Ορ. & Di. v. 109, 119.

Τηπιοι ουδ ισασινόσω πλεον ημισυ παντος,
Ουδ όσον εν μαλαχη τε, και ασφοδελω μεγ'

Κρυψαντες γαρ εχουσι θεοι βιου αυθρωποισι.

Ροιδιως γαρ κευ και επ' πρατι ερίασαιο

Αιψα κε ωποαλιου μευ υπερ καπυου καταθειο.
Εογα βοων δ' απολοιτο και πμιονων ταλαεργων.

Αλλα Ζευς εκρυψε, χολωσαμενος Φρεσιν πσικ,

'Οτ]ι μιν εξαπα]ησε Προμηθευς αγκυλομητης.

Op. et Di. v. 39, 49.

that the Men of the times he is celebrating were in reality no better than a set of fimple and ill-accommodated Revers upon the Face of the Earth, taking their temporary Settlements here and there, as their Necel. lities prompted them to to de, in different Parts of it? Depending altogether for their Subfiftence on the Bounty of uncultivated Nature, and either living fuccessively on the feveral wild Productions of the Ground as they offered themselves in their respective Seafons, or at best, it may be, where they found more of any particular Kind of them, than would immediately affiver their pre-fent Occasions, making some little Reserve thereof against future ones ? And does he not on the whole of his Account put us rather upon confidering it as the great Infelicity of their Age, that they wanted thus all the more improved Arts of Life, than any enviable Privilege of it, that they lived without them?

So that after all (fald I) the Image, as I perceive, which Homer, gives us of the Gods, when they are described by him as peiα ζωοντει, "living wholly at their ease ||," however designed by him as a high Compliment to the Felicity of their Condition, if traced to its historical Original in the Circumstances

‡ Iliad, 6. 138.

Op. ct Di v. 30, 4

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cumstances of the times they lived in, has no more honourable a Foundation, than the extreme Indigence of it: and their being frangers to all the Cares of Life proceeded only from their being fuch to all its more valuable Enjoyments. From 10 2011 211

UNDOUBTEDLY: (replied Hortenfius) But Homer, you know, lived at a time, when all lober History of the first Ages of Civility in Greece had given place to panegyrical Romances concerning them, And accordingly we find Hefiod, a Writer, if not, as fome have thought, Contemporary with Homer, yet in all Accounts of an Age not much inferior to him; To strenuously afferting the absolute Felicity of Saturn's days, in disparagement of all which had fince fucceeded them, that he makes Prometheus, in giving rife to the several later Improvements upon Life, to have given rife at the same time to all the Evils of it : which he expresses under the Mythos of Jupiter's sending down Pandora (the Prosopopæa, it should feem, of more refined and artificial Manners in the World) to the Earth, immediately upon Prometheus's having stolen Fire from Heaven for the Use of Men, who had no fooner arrived amongst them, but uncovering a certain Vessel she had brought with her in her hands, she dispersed around her its mischievous Contents, which were nothing

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cumifances of the See they lived in, has no nothing less than the leveral Discases, Cares, and Miseries which had ever since been the Portion of Human Kind \* The truth is, the Heroes of more remote Antiquity funding to our Poet in the Relation of fo many meltablished Divinities of his Country, he was noto lose no Advantages which either precevident Tradition concerning them, or the Heightenings of his own Fancy, could give - him, towards speaking of them in a manner es becoming the present Dignity of their Character: Not to suggest, that the whole of his Acquaintance with Society having been formed in its maturer Age, he might posfibly overlook in a great measure the several Infirmities necessarily connected with its infant State; and, being full of the Evils of his own times arising, as he might have observed, mostly from the more improved Luxuries of Life, forget to reflect on the many which would arise in those he figured to himself as golden ones, from a direct more refined and arribotal contrary

Αλλα γυνη χειρεσοί τοιθου μεγα τωμ' αφελουσ Εσκεδασ', ανθρωποισί δ' εμπαατο κηδεα λυγρα. Moun d'autobi Edwis su apenxlois douois Engon switths Aigon nuo Xeiyeain. Αλλα δε μυριαλυγρα κατ ανθρωπους αλαληία Πλειη μεν γαρ γαια κακών, πλειη δε θαλασσα Νουσοι δ' αυθρωποισιν εΦ' ήμερη, ηδ' επι υνκτι, Антонатов Фентион, хаха Эпптовов Феронов

Dirn' Ο τως ου τ. σου ες ι Διος νοον εξαλεατθαι'

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Op. et Di. v. 94, 10

contrary Quarter, the want of its most ordinary Accommodations. But not to dwell any longer, Phileman, on Reflections of this kind, which, however just and useful in themselves, are in great measure foreign to our present Defign-if, on the whole of what has been now reported to you concerning Prometheus, it seems probable, as I think it does, that he is only the mythologic Profopopæa of Invention in ancient Greece, confidered as having gradually improved the several rude Arts of social Life originally introduced there by its first Civilizers, his being delivered down to us, as the Author of roafting Animal, Flesh for Food, gives us no certain Æra of this Practice amongst the Greeks; tho' at the fame time, from its being left thus of undecided Antiquity with them, we may in general infer that it was of very great. And this perhaps is what the Comedian Anthenio is to be understood to mean, when, in a Fragment preserved to us of his Comedy of the Samothracians, he represents the Invention of the Art of Cookery amongst Mankind as what originally drew them off from a Life of Brutality and Barbarism. " It is to this Art, says he, we are indebted for abolishing in the World the favage Practice, which of old prevailed, of Mens feeding on one another: In the times of this Practice some Person of a happier Turn of Thought, defigning to facrifice LT OWNERS IN

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contrary Quarter, the spant of its most ordifacrifice a certain Animal to forme of the Gods, contrived to rout it for that pur pole; and having on this Occasion tafted its Flesh, and reporting it to be of a more agreeable Relish than that of Man, from henceforth the feeding on human Flesh became generally dished, and that of other Animals was substituted in its place, as the ordinary Diet of Mankind +." But when ever, or by whomfoever, the Practice of dreffing Animal Flesh for Food was first introduced, either into Greece, or any of the other civilized Countries of the ancient Pagan World, with it stands every where connected the Practice of offering it to the Gods in Sacrifice: whilst yet in the very Conduct of this Rite of bloody Sacrifice, as of very great. And this perhaps is what

Τρος ευσεθείαν ωλεις α θροσενηνεχο όλως ;

Β. Τοισυτον ες ι τουτο; Α. ωανυ γε βαρδαρε.
Του Απριωδους, και ωαρασπουδου βιου
Ήμας γαρ αποκλυσασα, και της δυσχερους
Αλληλοφαγιας, ηγαγ' εις ταξιν τινας
Και τουτονι ωεριηψεν ον νυνι βιον
Ζωμεν. Β. τενα τροπου; Α. προσεχε κα γω σοι
φρασω

Αλληλοφαγιας, και κακών όντων ζυχνων, Γενομενος ανθρωπός τις όυχ αδελτερος Εθυσ' ιερειον ωρωτος, ωπ' ησε κρεα. 'Ως δ' ην το κρεας ήδιον ανθρωπου κρεων, Αυτους μεν ουκ εμασωντο, τα δε βοσκηματα Θυοντες ωπτων.

Ex Anthen, apud Grot. Excerpt. p. 8934

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k took place in the different Countries we are acquainted with, there appear evident Marks of its not having been the original Practice of Mankind from the time of their first Entrance into Society: For whence else was it, but from a Reverence to inanimate Sacrifice, as of prior Institution to animal that, where the latter ever fo generally prevailed in Antiquity, the former was thought necessary, to be, as it were, incorporated with it? Thus in Herodotus's Account of one of the principal Festivals of the Egyptians, celebrated to Iss, they filled, he tells us, the Body of the Bull used to be sacrificed to her upon this Occasion with Cakes of pure Wheat, Honey, dried Grapes, Figs, Frankincense, Myrrh, and other Persumes \*. And in the Greek and Roman Sacrifices, the Victim, you know, was always strewed over with Barley, Wheat, or Meal, before it was permitted to be flain; certain Molæ also, or Meal-Cakes, were to be presented upon the Altar, not only before the Portion of

Επην προυης ευσωσι τη Ισι, και επην κατευξωνίαι, θυουσι την βων και αποδειραντες κοιλιην μεν κεινην παταν εξω ειλον, ζπλαίχνα δε αυτου λειπουσι εν τω σωματι και την πιμελην σκελεα δε αποταμνουσι, και την οσφυν ακρην, και τους ωμους τε, και τον τραχηλον ταυτα δε ποιησαντες, το αλλο ζωμα του βρος πιμπλασι αρτων λιδανωτου, και μελιτος, και ας αφιδος, και ζυκων, και λιδανωτου, και σμυρνης, και των αλλων θυωματων πλησαντες δε τουτων, καταφιζοισι, ελαιον αφθονον καταχεοντες . Herod. Euterp. cap. 41. of Flesh assigned to the Gods was cast into the Fire, but likewise asterwards, as the concluding Article of the Sacrific Ceremony; the Ancients seeming to have held of the Meal in this Case, what Antiphanes in his Mystis observes of Frankincense under the like Application of it, that even a Helicatomb itself would be a mere vain Oblation in the Sight of the Gods, unless it came recommended to their Acceptance by this cheap, but, it seems, important Addition to it ‡.

An excellent Contrivance this, (faid I) Hortenfius, of the Pagan Priests, as I imagine, to keep up in Mens Minds a proper Reverence for the facrifical Institutions of more remote Antiquity, at the same time that they seem every where to have almost universally departed from thence in their Practice, from the earliest Accounts we have of their Proceedings in this Affair of their Sacri-

† Όθεν ετι και νυν ωρος τω τελει των θυπλων τοις ψαισθεισι θυλημασι χρωμεθα, μαρτυρουντες μεν τω πρατθο Abst. Lib. 2. p. 55. Sacrifi in and anima Ulage we fin ters, within ner all

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‡ Ταις ευτελειαις οι Θεοι χαιρουσι γαρ
Τεκμηριου δ'όταν γαρ έκατομβας τινες
Θυωσι, ταυταις και λιβανωτος επετυθη

'Ως τ'αλλα μεν τα ωολλα ωαραναλουμενα
Δαπανην ματαιαν ουσαν, αυτων ουσεκα,
Το δε μικρου αυτο, τουτ' αρες ον τοις Θεοις.
Apud Grot. Exc. p. 617.

Sacrifices. For tho', 'tis true, we hear much in ancient Writers of a Tradition that in-animate Sacrifice only was once the general Ulage of Mankind, yet the Sacrifices which we find any where described by these Writers, as in fact subsisting amongst them, within their own Knowledge, are in a manner all of the animal Kind.

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THEY are so, (reply'd He;) and this under fuch a whimfical Variety of Prescriptions as to the Species, Sex, Age, Colour, and other Qualities of the Animal required to be facrificed to this or that particular Deity, as likewise with regard to the time and manner of facrificing it, that in nothing, as I observed in the beginning of this Conversation, has Superstition exercised a more wanton Tyranny over the Minds of its deluded Votaries in the ancient Pagan World, than in the Article now before us. I shall forbear however to enter into Particulars here, Philemon: You have already yourself hinted at the Reason of these Distinctions; and the circumstantial History of them is at large collected in almost all the Writers of Pagan Antiquities. What will be of more Use, I apprehend, to our present Design is to observe, how the same mistaken way of thinking concerning the Gods, in the ruder and more ignorant Ages of Mankind, which led them to offer Sacrifice to

to them at first, as we have all along supposed, in the way of Gratitude for past Favours, would in time naturally put them upon doing so too in order to obtain suture ones; as likewise to deprecate the Effects of their Displeasure, as often as they esteemed themselves to have offended them. Now these, you know, were the three great Motives to all the Pagan Sacrifices.

And they have all of them, (said I) I fee very clearly, their Foundation in that Prejudice you have supposed natural to those weak and injudicious Reasoners, who were the Authors of the Rite under Consideration, of fancying the Objects of their Worfhip to be altogether of like Passions with themselves.

This (reply'd He) was most unquestionably the Original of the whole Practice of sacrificing in the World. Nevertheless what began in mere Ignorance and Mistake was afterwards greatly forwarded amongst Mankind by Crast and Imposture. The Priests who served at the Pagan Altars every where encouraged, as they had a great Interest to do, the fond Prejudice we are speaking of, till by degrees they had refined Sacrifice into a regular Art, and adjusted the precise Terms of Negotiation between Heaven

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THIS Notion (faid I) is finely raillied by Lucian in his Discourse of Sacrifices. me leave to turn to the Place. " The Gods, then, fays He, it feems, do nothing for Mankind of their own free Grace and Bounty, but fell all their Favours to them at a fet Price. Thus, it may be, a Man shall buy Health of them for a fingle Heifer; but if he would be rich, the Terms are four Oxen; if he aspires to Empire, an Hecatomb. The Purchase of a safe Return from Troy to Pyle is nine Bulls; but that of a fair Wind from Aulis to Ilium a King's Daughter. It stood Hecuba once in the Expence of twelve Oxen, and a rich Veil, confecrated to Minerva, to prevent the taking of her Capital by Diomed. And there are, I suppose, many things to be obtained of the Gods for the Confideration only of a Cock, a Garland, or a little Frankincense\*." THIS

\* Όυτως ουδεν, ώς εοικευ, αμισθι ποιουσιν, ών ποιουσιν αλλα Πωλουσι τοις ανθρωποις τα γαθα και ενες ι Πριασθαι παρ αυτων το μεν υγιαινειν, ει τυχοι, Βοιδίου, το δε πλουτειν, βωων τετλαρων, το δε βασιλευειν, έκατρωεα και το εκ της Αυλιδος ες Ιλιου Διαπλευσαι, παρ θενου βασιλικης ή μεν γαρ Εκαδή το μη αλωναι τοτε την Πολιν επριατο παρα της Αθηνας βωων Δωδεκα, και πεπλου βασιλικής ή μεν γαρ Εκαδή το μη αλωναι τοτε την Πολιν επριατο παρα της Αθηνας βωων Δωδεκα, και ωκεπλου βασιλικής ή μεν γαρ Εκαδή το μη αλωναι τοτε την Πολιν επριατο παρα της Αθηνας βωων Δωδεκα, και ωκεπλου βασιλικής ή μεν γαρ Εκαδή το μη αλωναι τοτε την Πολιν επριατο παρα της Αθηνας βωων Δωδεκα, και ωκεπλου βασιλικής ή μεν γαρ Εκαδή το μη αλωναι τοτε την Πολιν επριατο παρα της Αθηνας βωων Δωδεκα, και ωκεπρουνος,

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This Persuasion (said He) of the Gods being no otherwise to be kept upon any tolerable Terms of Friendship with Mankind but by certain seasonable Applications to their Interests, prevailed so much, we find, in Homer's Days in the Pagan World, that if at any time they fell into any unlooked. for Calamity, they were wont to ascribe it to the Chastisement of some Deity, whose Altar had been defrauded by them of its due Complement of Victims. Thus, you know, upon the Plague's breaking out in the Grecian Camp in the first Iliad, when Achilles had called a Council of Greeks to enquire concerning the Cause of, and Means of averting it, his first Thought is, that it was the Infliction of Apollo for some Breach of Vow they stood guilty of towards him, or the Failure of fome expected Hecatomb: and the most likely Method of removing it he suggests to be, that they should forthwith celebrate a folemn Sacrifice to this incensed Divinity +.

THE History, (said I) Hortensius, of this Pestilence is so humourously represented by the

και σεφανου, και λιδανωτου μονου παρ' αυτοις ωνια. Lucian. de Sac. p. 527. 528. Vol. 1. 4to. 1743.

ΤΕιτ' αρ' ογ' ευχωλης επιμεμΦεται, ειθ' εκατομβης,
Αι κεν ωως αρνων κνισσης, αιγωντε τελειων,
Βουλεται αυτιασας ήμιν απο λοιγον αμυναι.

Il. I. v. 65-6-7.

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the Author but now quoted, in the very next Passage to that I was reading to you, that I cannot forbear going on with him. " This Doctrine," (of the Gods doing nothing for Mankind but for Interest) "was, no doubt, well understood by Chryfes, he being of the Priesthood, a Person of Age, and one much experienced in facred Matters: For, no fooner had he applied without Success to Agamemnon for the Restoration of his Captive Daughter, but, being conscious to himself that he had established a good Fund of Interest in Apollo, he immediately calls upon him for Revenge; demanding it at his hands as a Debt dueto him in confideration of the many Services he had done this his Patron God, and scarcely indeed containing himself on this Occasion within the Bounds of Decency. Good Apollo! fays he, here have I bestowed so many Garlands upon your Shrine, which till my time used to stand unornamented, and burnt the Thighs of fo many Bulls and Goats upon your Altar, and you now fit wholly unconcerned to fee me thus ill treated by the Grecian Chief, and make no account of your old Friend and Benefactor! Whereupon, so utterly did he put the God to shame by these Remonstrances, that having fnatched up his Bow and Arrows, and taken a convenient Station over the Greek Fleet, he fell to shooting every thing

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thing he could meet with in the Camp of the Grecians, not suffering their very Mules and Dogs to escape his Vengeance \*."

Ταυτα δε, οιμαι, και Χρυσης επισαμενος, επειδη απρακίος επρευς, και γερων, και τα θεια σοφος, επειδη απρακίος απηει σαρα του Αγαμεμνονος, ως αν και σροδανεισας τω Απολλωνι την χαριν, δικαιολογειται, και απαιτει την αμοιδην, και μονου ουκ ονειδίζει, λεγων, ω Βελτισε πολλακις εσεφανωσα και τοσαυτα ζοι μηρια ταυρων το και κιγων εκαυσα επι των βωμων συ δε αμελεις μου τοιαυτα σεπουθοτος, και σαρ ουδεν τιδεσαι τον ευεργετην τοιγαρουν ουτω κατεδυσωπησεν αυτον εκ των λογων, ώσε αρπασαμενος τα τοξα, και ύπερ του νανσαθμου καθισας έαυτον, κατετοξευσε τω λοιμω τους Αχαιους, αυτοις έαυτον, κατετοξευσε τω λοιμω τους Αχαιους, αυτοις

The Allusion here is to the following Passage of Homer.

Κλυθι μευ, Αργυροτοξ' ός Χρυσην αμφιδεδυκας, Κιλλαν τε ζαθεπι, Τενεδοιο τε ιφι ανασσεις, Σμευθευ. ει στε τοι χαριευτ' επι υπου ερεψα, Η ει δη ωστε τοι κατα ωιουα μηρι εκηα Ταυρων, ηδ' αιγων, τοδε μοι κρηηνον εελδωρ Τισειαν Δαναοι εμα δακουα ζοισι βελεσσιν 'Ωε εφατ' ευχομενος' του δ' εκλυε Φοιδος Απολλων. : Βη δε κατ' Ουλυμποιο καρηνων χωομενος κηρ, Τοξ' ωμοισιν εχων, αμφηρεφεα τε Φαρετρην. Εχλαξαν δαρ' οίς οι επ' ωμων χωομενοιο AUTOU KINHENTOS. O & NIE MONTE EOINOS. Έζετ' επειτ' απανευθε νεων, μετα διον έηκε Δεινη δε κλαγίη γενετ' αργυρεοιο βιοιο. Ουρηας μεν πρωτον επωχετο, και κυνας αρίους. Αυταρ επειτ' αυτοισι βελος εχεπευκές εφιεις Bann. aiet of mobal nexum xatorlo Jametat. Iliad. 1. v. 37-52.

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mailte dialectaind out it working THE frequent Occurrence (refumed Hortensius) of the Doctrine we are here speaking of in the Writings of the ancient Greek Poets was doubtless amongst the Reasons which induced Plato to banish the reading of them from his Model of a Commonwealth, as tending to possess Men's Minds with Opinions concerning the Gods subverfive of all Justice and Honesty in their mutual Intercourses. For thus he introduces Adimantus reasoning on this Subject, in the fecond Book of his Republic. After pleading for some time in behalf of Fraud, as a more eligible Scheme of Conduct to Mankind than Fair-dealing, when he comes to urge an Objection to this Doctrine from the Confideration, that, however the Villain might elude the Eye, or refift the Course of human Justice, he had yet every thing to apprehend from Divine, he answers it in the following manner. - "If it be true that there are Gods, and that they interest themfelves in human Affairs, I would ask, how is it we come to know this, but from the facred Traditions, and the Genealogies which the Poets have given us of these Gods? Now the fame Authorities tell us, that the Gods are of such a Nature, as to be capable of being influenced by Sacrifices, and Vows, and Presents from Mankind: We must then believe both Parts of the Account here, or neither; if we believe both, then the Consequence is, we may commit what Acts of Injustice we please, for any thing which should restrain us on the part of the Gods, seeing they may at any time be brought over to our side by giving them a sufficient Portion of the Fruits of our Villainy \*."

This (faid I) was so obvious a way of reasoning upon the established Principles of the Pagan Theology, that our Philosopher should have banished the Gods themselves, as well as the Poets, from his Republic, if he meant essectually to guard against it. For upon no other Footing could he possibly maintain the Doctrine which he makes Socrates deliver in a Discourse with Alcibiades, "that it would be a Thought most unworthy of the Gods, to conceive of them as regarding only what Gists and Sacrifices should be offered to them by any Person, and not attending to the Disposition of his Mind,

\* Αλλα δη θεους ουτε λανθανειν ουτε βιαζεσθαι δυναΤον — ει δε εισι τε και επιμελουλαι, ουκ αλλοθεν τοι
αυτους ισμεν η ακηκοαμεν, η εκ τε των λογων, και των
γενεαλογησανλων ποιητων. Οι δε αυτοι ουτοι λεγουσιν,
ώς εισιν οιοι θυσιαις τε και ευχωλαις αγανησι, και αναθημασι παραγεσθαι αναπειθομενοι. οις η αμφοτερα η
ουδετερα πειστον ει δ' ουν πειστον, αδικητεον, και θυτεον απο των αδικηματων. Plat. de Rep. Lib. 2. p.
365. Serran.

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Mind, whether all was holy and upright there; a Matter they certainly laid a greater Stress upon, than the Costliness of solemn Processions and Sacrifices, which there was nothing to hinder the very worst and wickedest, whether of private Men, or Communities, from performing every Year with great Punctuality. But the Gods, being above the Temptation of a Bribe, despised all these things †."

VERY different Reasoning this (said Hortensius) from what he puts into the Mouth of Glauco, another of the Speakers in the second Book of his Republic, who there argues, "that the Villain had it in his power to make himself dearer to the Gods than the honest Man, by being, as might naturally be expected of him, more profuse and magnificent in his Sacrifices and Donations to them, and a more exact Observer of all religious Forms and Ceremonies \*." But this

+ Και γαρ δεινου αυ ειη, ει ωρος τα δωρα, και τας θυσιας, αποθλεπουσιυ ήμων όι θεοι, αλλα μη ωρος την ψυχην, αυ τις όσιος και δικαιος ωυ τυγχανη ωολλω μαλλου, οιμαι, η ωρος τας ωολυτελεις ταυτας ωομπας τε, και θυσιας, άς ουδευ κωλυει ωολλα μευ εις θεους, πολλα δ' εις ανθρωπους ήμαρτηκοτας, και ιδιωθην, και πολιν, εχειν αν έκας ον ετος τελειν όι δε, άτε ου δωροδοκοι ουτες, καταφρονουσιν άπαυτων τουτων. Plat. Alcibiad. 2. p. 149, 150. Serran.

\* Θεοις Δυσιας, και αναθηματα, ίκανως και μεγα-

what the Bulk of Mankind in the Pagan World lived and acted upon ‡; and that to a degree which made our Philosopher enact it as a Law of his imaginary Commonwealth, "that no Person should be at liberty to have any private Chapel within his own House, but whoever was minded to facrifice should do it publickly; for this, amongst other Reasons, that evil Men might not be encouraged to proceed in their Wickedness by having it in their power, whenever they had committed any dishonest Act, to run immediately to some private Altar, and there expiate the Guilt of it in secret \*."

λοπρεπως θυείν τε, και ανατιθεναι, και θεραπευείν του Δικαιου σολυ αμείνου τους θεους — ώστε και θεοφιλες ερου αυτον είναι μαλλον σροσηκείν εκ των είκοτων η του Δικαιου - Do Pen o p 262 Ser

dixαιου. De Rep. 2. p. 362. Ser.

‡ Αγυρται δε και μαντεις επι πλουσιών θυρας ιουτες πειθουσιν ώς ες ι παρα σφισι δυναμις εκ θεων πορίζομενη θυσιαις τε και επωδαις, ειτε τι αδικημα του γεγονευ αυτου, η προγούων, ακεισθαι μεθ' ήδονων τε και έος των και εαν τιν εχθρον πημηναι εθελη, μετα ζμικρων δαπανών όμοιως δικαιον αδικώ βλαψει. — Πειθονίες ου μονον ιδιώτας, αλλα και πολεις, Ως αρα λυσεις τε και καθαρμοι αδικηματών δια θυσιών, και παιδίας ήδονων εισι δη μεν ετι ζωσι, εισι δε και τελευτησασών, άς τελετας καλουσίν, αι των εκει κακών απολυουσίν ώμας, μη θυσαντας δε δείνα περιμένει. De Rep. p. 364, 365. Sertan.

\* Εςω γαρ νομος οδε τοις ξυμπασι κειμενος απλως: Τερα μηδε εις εν ιδιαις οικιαις εκτησθω: Δυείν δ' όταν επι

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CICERO (faid I) in his excellent Treatife of Laws expressly forbids wicked Persons to bring Gifts to the Altars of the Gods under a Notion of atoning thereby for their Crimes, directing them to confider what Plato had delivered upon this Subject, who argues, that as no good Man would fuffer himself to accept a Present at the hands of a known Villain, much less could this be supposed concerning the Gods ‡.

THE more wife and thinking Pagans (faid I) were doubtless all of them of this Opinion, as indeed it was fcarce possible for them to be otherwise. But the popular and philosophic Creed in this matter was of a very different Stamp. In the vulgar Estimation of things, supported but too much by those who should have taught Men better, the

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νουν ιη τινι, προς τα δημοσια ιτω, θυσωνχρη σαντων σοιείν κατα τον νυν λεγομενον νομου? σρος τουτοις δε, ένεκα των ασεδουντων, ίνα μη και ταυτα κλεπ-Τουτες πραξεσιν, ίπρα τε και βωμους εν ιδιαις οικιαις ιδρυομενοι, λαθρα τους θεους ίλεως οιομενοι στοιειν θυσιαις τε και ευχαις, εις απειρού την αδικιάν αυξανούζες κ τ λ. Plat. de Leg. 10. p. 961. Ser.

† Donis impii ne placare quidem audeant Deos. Platonem audiant, qui vetat dubitare quâ sit mente suturus Deus, cum nemo vir bonus ab improbo se donari De Leg. Lib. 2. cap. 16. Davies. Παρα δε μιαρου δωρα ουτ' ανδρα αγαθου, ουτε θεου ες: ποτε τογε obgon genergar, marun onn mebi Jeone o moyne eer monde

rois avoriois. Plat. Leg. Lib. 4. p. 716. Serran.

Gods were confidered as entirely governed by Interest in their Conduct towards Mankind, independently on all scrupulous Regard to personal Merit. A private Man, or a Community, might purchase any Favour they should request of them by coming up to its Price; and if either the one, or the other, had incurred their Displeasure, a Pardon might be obtained, and their Refentments entirely pacified, by a proper Sacrifice of Expiation. Sometimes a fingle Victim would ferve the Turn: at others, it was necessary to offer several of the same kind: at others, the Sacrifice was to confift of a certain Number of Animals of a different Species: at others, laftly, nothing was to be done but at the Expence of shedding human Blood. Ancient History is full of dreadful Examples to this purpose: at some Altars it was even a periodical Practice; at great Numbers an occasional one. We have Accounts of it, in one or the other of these ways, in Egypt, Arabia, Phanicia, Syria, Perfia; in the Islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, Tenedos, and Crete; in Ionia, Scythia, Thrace; at Carthage, Sparta, Athens, and according to Phylarchus, an Historian referred to by Porphyry upon this Subject, all over Greece; in Britain, Gaul, Germany, Spain, Sicily, and Italy; not excepting, as Tertullian speaks, "The pious Descendents

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could in his Line Account a Green Forum Gauls mitting and in purpose Livy,

Op. The fabulas the Aneadal fuis hum 9. Edit + Ed an Ta 7 ouder, our Tais dog Gena, To hoyiois T

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of Aneas, in the most religious City of Rome itself \* " oly it and it au ita

A PRACTICE of this nature (faid I) could never, I should think, be at all famihar with the Romans, however they might be driven to it upon fome extraordinary Emergencies. Plutarch, I remember, in his Life of Marcellus, where he gives us an Account of their burying alive four Persons, a Greek, and a Gaul of each Sex, in the Forum Boarium, upon the Irruption of the Gauls into Etruria, represents them as submitting to this cruel Rite with Reluctance, and in obedience merely to an Order to this purpose from the Sibylline Books +. And Livy, in like manner, when he tells us they a two Boarto In terri viva dentili fint

Society land conceptum, its ante beflus inch Vid. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 93-4-5. Grot. Op. Theolog. Tom. 3. p. 335, 336, Remitto Tauricas fabulas theatris suis. Ecce in illa religiosissima urbe Eneadarum Piorum Jupiter est quidam, quem ludis fuis humano proluunt fanguine. Tertull. Apologet. p.

9. Edit. Rigault.

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Τ Εδηλου δε και του Φοδου αυτών η τε σαρασκευη και τα περι τας Δυσιας καινολομουμένα. Εαρξαρικου μεν ουδεν, ουδ εκφυλον, επίληδευοντες, αλλ ώς ενι μαλισα ταις δοξαις Ελληνικώς διακει μενοι, και πραώς προς τα θεια, τοτε του σολεμου ζυμπεσούτος ηθαγκασθησαν είξαι λογιοις τισιν εκ των Σιδυλλειών, δυο μεν Ελληνας, ανδρα και γυναικα, δυο δε Γαλατας ομοιως εν τη καλουμενή βωων αγορα κατορυξαι ζωντας οις ετι και νυν εν τω Νεομβριω μηνι δρωσιν Έλλησι και Γαλαταις απορρητους και αθεατους ιερουρίτας. Plut. in Marcello. p. 299. Xyl. Edit,

did the same thing after the ill Success of their Affairs at Canna, styles it, "Sacrum "minime Romanum," a Ceremony of Religion by no means in the Roman Taste \*.

You are aware (replied He) of the annual Custom at Rome, observed there with great Solemnity, of throwing thirty Figures in human Shape into the Tiber, in the place of so many living Men, who used of old to be sacrificed in that manner to Saturn 1. And Macrobius relates, that when Tarquin the

Q. Fab. Pictor Delphos ad Oraculum missus est, sciscitatum quibus precibus supplicissque Deos possent placare, & quænam sutura finis tantis cladibus soreta Interim ex satalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria sacta: inter quæ Gallus & Galla, Græcus & Græca, in soro Boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum. Liv. Lib. 22. cap.

Τ Λεγουσι δε και τας θυσιας επιτελείν τω Κρουω τους παλαίους, ώσπερ εν Καρχηδων, τεως ή πολίς διεμένες και παρα Κελτοις εις τοδε χρουου γίνεται, και εν αλλοις τισι των έσπεριων εθνων, ανδροφονους. Ήρακλεα δε παυσαί τον νομου της θυσιας βουληθεντα, τον τε βωμον ίδρυσασθαι τον επι τω Σατορνιω, καταρξασθαι θυματων αγνων και καθαρω πυρι άζομενων ίνα δε μηθεν ειή τοις ανθρωποις ενθυμιου, ώς πατριων ηλογηκοσι θυσίων, διθαξαι τους επιχωριους απομειλιτθομένους την του θεου μηνιν, αντι των ανθρωπων, όυς ζυμποδίζοντες, και των χειρων ακρατεις ποιουντες ερριπθουν ες το Τιθεριος ρειθρους ειδωλα ιποιουντες ανδρεικέλα κεκοσμημένα τον αυτον εκεινοις τρόπον, εμβαλείν εις τον ποταμόν, ίνα δη το της ότθειας

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the Proud renewed the Ludi Compitales, a Festival first instituted by Servius Tullius, to the Honor of the deceased Ancestors of the Roman People, for the Safety of the feveral Families in Rome, an Oracle of Apollo directed that an Offering should be made to the Gods called Lares, and their Mother Mania, of a certain Number of Heads, in order to render them propitious to the feveral Heads, or Persons, in each Family: But that, upon the Expulsion of Tarquin, Brutus the Conful, taking advantage of the equivocal Sense of the word Heads in the Oracle, instead of the Heads of Children, who hitherto had been put to Death upon this Occasion, ordered the Sacrifice to confift for the future of certain Heads of Garlic onlyand Poppies ‡. Moreover, Plinyacquaints us, that, in the Year of Rome fix hundred and

έτζειας ο΄ τι δη ωστε ην εν ταις απαντων ψυχαις ωαραμενον εξαιρεθη, των εικονων του ωαλαιου εθους σωζομενων τουτο δε και μεχρις εμου διετελουν Ρωμαιοι δρωτες, όσον τι μικρον ύς ερου εαρινης ισημεριας, εν μηνι Μαιω ταις καλουμεναις ιδοις, διχομηνιδα βουλομενοι ταυτην ειγαι την ήμεραν. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. Lib. 1. p. 30.

† Hic Albinus Cecinna subjecit: qualem nunc permutationem sacrificii prætextate memorasti, invenio postea compitalibus celebratam, cum Ludi per urbem in compitis agitabantur, restituti scilicet a Tarquinio Superbo Laribus ac Maniæ; ex responso Apollinis, quo præceptum est ut pro capitibus supplicaretur. Idque aliquandiu observatum, ut pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur Maniæ Deæ, matri Larium. Quod sacri-

hibiting human Sacrifice; which till then, I her observes, had been openly practifed there, in

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Trous however, thews, (faid I) it was abolished at Rome long before the time of Tertullian, who lived fome Centuries, after the paffing of the Decree here fpoken of: Nor can it be imagined, that Gicero in his Oration for Fonteius, "accused," says the late learned! and polite Writer of the Life of Cicero, "by the Province of Narbonese Gaul, where he had been three Kears Braton, lof great Op pression and Exactions in his Government have urged it in Exception to the Credit of the Witnesses against his Client in this Cause, that they were of a Nation infamous for polluting the Altars of the Gods with buman Sacrifices, and thinking they were to be appealed by Cruelty and human Blood ||, if the Romans at this time had not been themfelves entirely reproachless upon that Head, YET

facrificii genus Junius Brutus Consul Tarquinio pulso aliter constituit celebrandum: nam capitibus allii & papaveris supplicari justit, ut responso Apollinis satisfieret de nomine capitum, remoto scilicet scelere infaustæ signisicationis. Macrob Saturnal Lib. 1. cap. 7.

Coff. Senatus consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur, palamque in illud tempus sacra prodigiosa celebrata: Plin. Lib. 30. cap. 1.

Hiffory of the Life of Civere, Vol. 1, p. 1194

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gan Wiles, in his fecond Treatife of Ab-Y's an, 'is remarkable, (returned Tie) Terruttian is by ho means frigle in his Tell timony to the shedding of human Blood in Rome; as an Act of Religion, during the Celebration there of the Ferine Linting. These, you may remember, were a Pestival interested by Thrquinius Superbus, aspon a League of Amity's being formed between the Romans, and their Neighbours the Latines, Volici, and Hernicians, to Jupiten, under the Epithet of Latialis, or the Protector of Lathum : And here, as I faid, Tertulhim is by no means the only Writer, who speaks of Homicide as making part of the Worthip of this Deity : Minucius Felial, Armobius, and Lactantius all day the fame thing to as does moreover Porphyny, at Par

gant 116. Cic. Orat. pro M. Fonteio. Quis enim ignorat, eos ulque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram confuetudinem hominum immolandorum? quamobrem, quali fide, quali pietate, existimatis eos esse, qui etiam Deos immoreales arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari. Cum his vos teltibus vestram religionem conjungetis? ab his quidquam sancte aut moderate dictum putabitis? cap. 17.

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gan Writer, in his second Treatise of Ab-Rimence from Animal-Food, and this in very ftrong Terms +. What I suppose may be the truth of the Case here is, that the Practice complained of was not fo properly a Sacrifice as an Execution of A Punishment inflicted at the time of these Feria upon fome Criminal or Malefactor, who was condemned to be put to Death by wild Beafts, as a part of the Shews used to be exhibited upon this Occasion; some Portion of whose Blood however was probably carried to the Statue of the Latian Jupiter, and poured forth upon it \*. . And thus, Philemon, you have heard what was the Rife and Progress of Sacrifice in Pagan Antiquity. It began in the Oblation of inanimate Things only, whilst such only were

suetudinis & humanitatis gloriam sibi vindicarunt, nonne sacrilegis his sacris immaniores reperiuntur? Lactant, de salsa Religione. Lib. 1. cap. 21.

Τ. Αλλ' ετι και νυν, τις αγνοεί, κατα την μεγαλην πολίν, τη του Λατιαρίου Διος έορλη, σΦαζομενον αυθρωπου;

Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 95.

Ecce in illà religiosissimà urbe Æneadarum Piorum Jupiter est quidam quem ludis suis humano proluunt sanguine. Sed Bestiarii inquitis——Hoc opinor minus quam hominis; an hoc turpius quod mali hominis? certe tamen de homicidio funditur. Tertull. Apologet. p. 9. Rigault. Hodieque ab ipsis Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur; & quod Saturni Filio dignum est mali & noxis hominis sanguine saginatur. Min. Fel. p. 365—6. Cum Latiaris cruore persunditur. ibid. 351. Et Latio ad hodiernum diem Jovimedia in urbe humanus sanguis ingustatur. Tertul. Scorpiace. p. 493. Rigault.

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in use with Mankind for Food; from thence it proceeded to the offering up the Flesh of Animals; and by degrees in many Cafes to that of Men. The Grounds of this Practice in general we have agreed to be laid in Mens thinking their Gods to be altogether of like Passions with themselves. And that this is the very truth of the Case may, I think, be still farther confirmed to us by observing, that the History of modern Paganism in the Article before us is altogether analogous to that of ancient. "The things" says Garcilasso de La Vega, in a Passage of his Peruvian Commentaries now before me, "which the Indians offered to the Sun were of divers forts. The chief and principal Sacrifice was that of Lambs; but besides they offered all forts of Cattle, and Birds which were eatable, the Fat of Beafts, Pulse, all forts of Grain, the Herb Cuca, even Cloaths of the best and finest forts: all which they burnt in the place of Incense, rendering Thanks and Acknowledgments to the Sun, for having sustained and nourished all those things for the Use and Support of Mankind. They used also Drink-Offerings, which were made of Water and Mayz, which is their fort of Wheat; and at the End of their usual Meals, when Drink was brought, (for they did never use to drink between their Eatings) at their first Draught they dipped the Tip of their Finger Jome Book v. Chap. 10.

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Pinger in the Middle of the Cup, and looking up to Heaven with great Reverence, with a Fillip they spirted off the Drop of Water which wetted their Finger, which was by way of Acknowledgment for it to the Sun, rendering him Thanks for the Water they drank | ." \_\_\_ In another place he tells us, that the Inca Viracocha after obtaining a certain Victory over the Chancas, fentino tice of ie to the Sun , " for tho, fays he, they effeemed the Sun for a God, yet in all respects they treated him as a Man, and as one who had need of Intelligence and Information of Matters which forceeded befides which, they formed other igrofs Conceptions of him; as to drink to him; and that the might pledge them again, on their Festival Days they filled a golden Cup with Liquor, which they fet in a Part of the Temple, which was most open to the Sun Beans, and what was exhaled by that Heat they judged to be drank by the Sun they also let Meat for him to eat."- 1 And that, agreeably to what has been faid concerning the ancient Pagans, those of Peru, at least before the Days of their Incas, and those of Mexico, even at the time of the Spaniards conquering their Country, practifed human Sacrifices of the most execrable Kind, is a Matter of Fact univerfally agreed ofe to drink between their Estings) at the

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Royal Commentaries of Peru of Garcileffo de La Vega translat. by Sir Paul Rycaut, Book 2. Chap. 4.

to by the Writersof American History 4. The like Accounts to these are given us of some other Parts of the World, where Paganism

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Severa, is cred in denis of various kinds m + Roy, Com. Book r. Chap. 4. Book 2, Chap. 4. Acofta's nat. and mer. Hift, of the Indies, Book 5. Chap. 4. Book 7. Chap. 6. also Chap. 13. and 19. They of Mexico have exceeded them (the Peruvians) yea all Nations in the World in the great number of Men which they have facrificed, and in the horrible Manner thereof. — The Manner of these Sacrifices to Vitaliputzli was, they affembled such as should be facrificed within the Pallifado of Skulls.—A Priod came from the Temple, and getting upon a Stone in the Court of it, shawed the Idol to the Victims, faying, This is your God!-There were fix Sacrificers appointed to thefe Dignities; four to hold the Hands and Feet of him that was to die a fifth to hold his Head, and a fixth to open his Stomach and pull out his Heast.—This was effeemed the Sovereign Priest and Biffiop. The High Priest opened each of the Persons Stomache with a Khife, with a ftrange Dexterity and Nimblenels, pulling out the Heart, which he shewed smoking unto the Sun, to: whom he did offer this Heat and Fume of the Heart, and presently he turned towards the Idol, and did cast the Heart at his Face. Then they cast away the Body of the Sacrificed, tumbling it down the Stairs of the Temple with a Spurn of their Foot. In this fort, one after another, did they facrifice all that were appointed, Acolta 5. 20. see also 21, 22. Some Nations of these (the Indians of Peru) offered not only their Enemies, but on some Occasions their very Children to these The Manner of these Sacrifices was to rip open their Breasts whilst they were alive, and so tear out their Heart and Lungs, with the Blood of which, whilft warm, they sprinkled their Idols—then they burnt the Entrails, and eat the Flesh themselves with great Joy and Festivity, tho' it were of their own Child, or other Relation of the fame Blood. Royal Comment. Book 1, Chap. 4. See also Book 6. Chap. 30, and 31,

yet takes place, by Perfons who have had Opportunity to vifit them: - As to the Dedication of what the Ancients call arely Supara, facred Prefents of various kinds to the Gods, fuch as Crowns, Garlands, Veftments, Plate, Pieces of Painting, Statues, Sculptures, and the like, the Reason of this whole Practice is in general fo much the same with that of the Rite of Sacrifice we have been discoursing of that I shall content myself with just hinting this Observation thus at large to your Thoughts, and leave it to you to apply it, as you may have Opportunity or Disposition for so doing. And here we might change the Scene, Philemon, and, from the Confideration of Sacrifices, proceed to that of fome other Articles of practical Superstition in the ancient Pagan World. But enough at one time of this Subject.

and prefectly he tuen \$60 AC is \$0 Idol, and did cafe the Genre at his lance. I ben they taff away the Body whiche Sacrated, tumbling it down the Sairs of the

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open their Breach whill they will alive, and forest one their Hear and Langs, with the Blood of which; whill warrs, they formshed their hear—of a resy burnt the Easter, and car the Telephoneches with great Joy and believer, they it were of their own Child, or other classen of the fame Blood. Heval Comment, Book I. Chap. 2, a see also Book I. Chap.

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